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ABSTRACT

Four topics covered in this volume include a pedagogical grammar of Tboli (Vivian M. Forsberg), Bantoanon phonology (Heather Kilgour and Gail Hendrickson), demonstratives in Aklanon narratives (Kristine Jensen and Rodolfo Barlaan), and behavioral discourse strategy in Eastern Bontoc (Takashi Fukuda). Tboli is a language spoken by people living in southwestern Mindanao, Philippines, in the province of South Cotabato. The pedagogical grammar of Tboli has been written to help non-Tboli speakers interested in learning to speak Tboli. In the chapter on Bantoanon phonology, discussion focuses on higher level phonology, syllable patterns, the phoneme, and residue. Topics addressed in the chapter on Aklanon narratives include the spatial relation between speaker and hearer, the discourse functions of demonstratives, syntactic pointing, and connotative or emotive functions of demonstratives. The final chapter is an analysis of behavioral texts (speech directed obligatorily to a second person in a communication situation) and a discussion of the persuasive devices employed by the speakers in an effort to effect a change in the listener's behavior. Several nonlinguistic persuasive devices are described: appeal to the cultural norm, human relationship, coaxing, and indirectness. (JP)

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A Pedagogical Grammar of Tboli

Vivian M. Forsberg

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Abbreviations and symbols

DIR	directional prefix
DU	dual
EMPH	emphasis
EX	exclusive
FT	future tense
ID	identification
IN	inclusive
INT	intensifier
LOC	location particle
NEG	negative particle
NF	nonfocus particle
NP	noun phrase
PL	plural marker
PREP	preposition
PT	past tense
QU	question particle
SG	singular
SP	specific
∅	zero allomorph
-	morpheme boundary
+	obligatory
?	unknown
‖	indicates boundary between comment and topic
,	semantic/grammatical components
/	alternate related meanings
()	encloses implied information as well as words in free translation which facilitate reading
.	compound gloss or compound vernacular phrase

General abbreviations

AFS	actor focus sentence
EFS	experiencer focus sentence
GFS	goal focus sentence
IFS	instrument focus sentence
OFS	object focus sentence
i.e.,	that is
lit.	literal
nat.	natural
sec.	section

0. Introduction

Tboli is a language spoken by approximately 80,000 people living in the mountains of southwestern Mindanao, Philippines, in the province of South Cotabato.

A pedagogical grammar is a tool for learning. This pedagogical grammar of Tboli has been written to help non-Tboli who would like to learn to speak Tboli. It has been written specifically for those who have had no linguistic training to help them in this most exacting task.

Explanations as to how the grammar of Tboli functions are as brief as possible. But a great many examples have been given so that the learner can actually see how it functions. Memorizing these examples will help develop patterns which can then be used to formulate new sentences. All the examples have been taken from text material authored by Tboli themselves and compiled in a concordance done at the University of Oklahoma Computer Laboratory (1966).

There is a great deal of repetition from one section to another. This has been done deliberately, since repetition is another aid in the learning process.

This work is not intended to be a comprehensive grammar of Tboli. Rather it is meant to be an introduction to the basic areas that need to be learned. From these lessons a serious student can proceed on his/her own to add what yet remains to be learned in order to become a fluent speaker.

These 'bare bones' do not in any way show the beautiful figurative language that Tboli delight in using to express themselves in even the most everyday matters. But it is hoped that once the student has digested these basic facts, then listening with understanding will become possible, and that is the key to learning how things are expressed figuratively.

A great help in compiling this material has been Doris Porter's *A Tboli Grammar* (1977) which was written with linguists in mind.

1. Spelling and pronunciation**1.1 Alphabet**

There are seven vowels in the Tboli alphabet and fifteen consonants.

1.1.1 Vowels

Since Tboli has two more vowels than are symbolized in the English alphabet, it is necessary to mark these two with an acute accent to make the seven distinctions: *é* and *ó*.

In the table below, the first column lists the sounds that occur in Tboli written with the special phonetic symbols linguists use. The second column lists the way these sounds are written in Tboli, followed with an example of each sound both in English and Tboli:

English			Tboli	
a	a	father	<i>ta</i>	'on top of'
i	i	eat	<i>ti</i>	'foot'
ɛ	é	bet	<i>bé</i>	'grandmother, granddaughter'
ə	e	the	<i>el</i>	'yes'
o	ó	boat	<i>kóm</i>	'you,SG'
u	u	boot	<i>kut</i>	'us two'
ɔ	o	bought	<i>bot</i>	'throw away'

1.1.2 Consonants

The consonants in Tboli are much the same as those in Pilipino or English: b, d, f, g, h, k, l, m, n, ng, s, t, w, y, and the glottal stop, which is written with a grave accent mark (`) over the final vowel in a word where it occurs. Otherwise it is not written.

English speakers may have difficulty with the 'ng' sound. It is familiar when it occurs either in the middle of a word or at the end as in the English word 'singing'. But it is not familiar when it occurs at the beginning of a word, as it often does in Tboli *ngà* 'child' or *nged* 'riddle'.

Glottal stop (ʔ) is familiar to English speakers when it occurs at the beginning of words as in 'ache, eat', or in the middle of words as in the exclamation 'oh?oh'. But it is not familiar when it occurs at the end of a word as it often does in Tboli *maʔ* 'father' or *gunuʔ* 'house'.

When the glottal occurs with a word ending either with *é* or *ó*, the symbol for the glottal (`) is simply added to the symbol already there: *yé* 'mother' or *yó* 'daughter-in-law (term of address)'.

1.2 Spelling rules

1.2.1 Glottal stop

There are two positions where the glottal stop is predictable, therefore it is not written.

- (1) When the word does not begin with another consonant, there is always an initial glottal stop:

ʔeted 'to deliver' written as *eted* *ʔówóng* 'boat' written as *ówóng*

- (2) When two vowels occur next to each other within a word, there is always a glottal stop between them:

liʔi 'taboo' written as *lii* *seʔel* 'floor' written as *seel*

The glottal stop is not predictable when it occurs at the end of a word, therefore it is always written when it occurs in that position:

gawiʔ 'serving spoon' written as *gawi* *ngaʔ* 'child, offspring' written as *ngà*

As has already been noted in section 1.1.2, when it occurs with either the *ó* or the *é* in word final position, the two accent marks are joined to become the circumflex:

béʔ 'don't' written as *bê* *sdóʔ* 'pig' written as *sdô*

1.2.2 Double consonants at the beginning of words

There are a great many words in Tboli which have two consonants at the beginning of a word. When these words are pronounced, there is a short vowel sound heard between the two consonants which is similar to the sound of the vowel in the English word 'the'. This sound is written by linguists with the symbol *ə*. Because the sound is so short when it occurs between the two consonants, it is written above the line: *bʔtang* 'to fall' and *kʔfung* 'dust'. This is done to distinguish it from the vowel of normal length of the same sound: *ləgəd* 'industrious' and *nəət* 'omen'.

The fact that it is not the same as the regular vowel of the same sound is evident in that it makes no difference to the new reader whether it is written in a word or not. They can read the word just as easily without it being written. As new literates, they often write this short vowel sound since they pronounce it in slow speech. But as they gain fluency in writing, they drop it.

When translating songs where the aim is to have one syllable correspond to one note, there was a very strong negative reaction by Tboli speakers to make this short vowel and a consonant form a syllable, e.g., *Də.wa.ta* 'God' and *də.mó.yón* 'to praise'. The fact that it was soundly rejected as a syllable is further proof that Tboli speakers distinguish it from the other vowel of regular length.

So for consistency in all published materials, the short vowel sound ə heard between two consonants at the beginning of words is not written:

<i>b^ətang</i>	written as <i>btang</i>	'to fall'
<i>D^əwata</i>	written as <i>Dwata</i>	'God'
<i>k^əfung</i>	written as <i>kfung</i>	'dust'
<i>m^ənóng</i>	written as <i>mnóng</i>	'to shine'
<i>T^əboli</i>	written as <i>Tboli</i>	'Tboli'

1.2.3 Prefixes

Tboli has very few prefixes compared to many other Philippine languages. The pattern for all the prefixes is the same: *he-*, *ke-*, *se-*, *ge-*, *de-*, *te-*, *me-* and *ne-*. Since a prefix is attached directly to the beginning of a root word, it is written with a hyphen to show this: *me-* and *ne-*.

The vowel in these prefixes is the short ə described in section 1.2.2. When prefixed to a root word, there are only a few specific instances where the vowel is retained. In all other cases it is dropped, forming words with the preferred pattern of a double consonant at the beginning of the word.

1.2.3.1 The vowel of the prefix is retained

- (1) When prefixed to a root word beginning with a double consonant pattern:

<i>ge-</i>	+	<i>blekel</i>	becomes	<i>geblekel</i>	'to accidentally go crosswise'
<i>he-</i>	+	<i>kfung</i>	becomes	<i>hekfung</i>	'cause to be dusty'
<i>ke-</i>	+	<i>btang</i>	becomes	<i>kebtang</i>	'falling'

If the initial consonant is an *h*, it becomes an *f* when prefixed with *he-*, *me-* or *se-*:

<i>he-</i>	+	<i>hyu</i>	becomes	<i>hefyu</i>	'to (have someone) repair'
<i>me-</i>	+	<i>hlayam</i>	becomes	<i>meflayam</i>	'to be in trouble'
<i>se-</i>	+	<i>hlós</i>	becomes	<i>seflós</i>	'to continue'

- (2) When prefixed to a single syllable root word whose initial consonant is a glottal stop (which is retained). The two examples given are the only members of this class:

<i>me-</i>	+	<i>ʔél</i>	becomes	<i>meél</i>	'to liquify'
<i>me-</i>	+	<i>ʔis</i>	becomes	<i>meis</i>	'to sic a dog (on someone)'

1.2.3.2 The vowel of the prefix is dropped

In all other cases the vowel of the prefix is dropped, forming the preferred pattern of a double consonant at the beginning of a word.

- (1) When prefixed to words which permit a double consonant pattern:

<i>ke-</i>	+	<i>sidek</i>	becomes	<i>ksidek</i>	'badness'
<i>me-</i>	+	<i>ton</i>	becomes	<i>mton</i>	'to see/find'
<i>ne-</i>	+	<i>fét</i>	becomes	<i>nfét</i>	'to tie up (someone, something)'
<i>se-</i>	+	<i>linti</i>	becomes	<i>slinti</i>	'engaged'

There is a variation in the above pattern when the first syllable of the stem is *le-*, as the *l* is always dropped:

<i>he-</i>	+	<i>lenek</i>	becomes	<i>henek</i>	'to cut into small pieces'; 'to become quiet'
<i>se-</i>	+	<i>lebut</i>	becomes	<i>sebut</i>	'to be angry with each other'

- (2) When prefixed to stems of two syllables whose initial consonant is a glottal stop (which is dropped when the prefix is added):

<i>ge-</i>	+	<i>ʔafas</i>	becomes	<i>gafas</i>	'to be able to restrain (someone, something)'
<i>ne-</i>	+	<i>ʔulul</i>	becomes	<i>nulul</i>	'to divide into shares'

1.2.4 Infixes

In the above list of prefixes (see sec. 1.2.3), there are two that function as focus markers (see sec. 8): *me-* and *ne-*. In certain instances these occur as infixes, i.e., instead of being attached to the beginning of the root word, they are inserted into the word itself, hence they are called infixes. An infix is always inserted following the initial consonant of the word. To show that they are inserted within a word, they are written with a double hyphen: *-em-*, *-en-*, *-m-* and *-n-*.

As with the prefixes, there are certain instances when the vowel of the infix is retained, but there are many more instances when it is dropped.

1.2.4.1 The vowel of the infix is retained

- (1) When infixed between double consonants at the beginning of a one-syllable word, the vowel is retained:

<i>blay</i>	+	<i>-em-</i>	becomes	<i>bemlay</i>	'to give'
<i>dket</i>	+	<i>-em-</i>	becomes	<i>demket</i>	'to stick'
<i>hyu</i>	+	<i>-en-</i>	becomes	<i>henyu</i>	'to repair'
<i>syat</i>	+	<i>-en-</i>	becomes	<i>senyat</i>	'to turn aside'

- (2) When infixed into a two-syllable word with *le-* as the first syllable the vowel is retained, but the first vowel of the word is dropped:

<i>lebut</i>	+	<i>-en-</i>	becomes	<i>lenbut</i>	'angry'
<i>lemek</i>	+	<i>-en-</i>	becomes	<i>lenmek</i>	'weak'
<i>lenaw</i>	+	<i>-em-</i>	becomes	<i>lemnaw</i>	'green'
<i>lenos</i>	+	<i>-em-</i>	becomes	<i>lemnos</i>	'windy'

1.2.4.2 The vowel of the infix is dropped

- (1) When infixed into a two-syllable word with a consonant and vowel pattern in the first syllable:

<i>kuli</i>	+	<i>-en-</i>	becomes	<i>knuli</i>	'to laugh (at something)'
<i>tóbóng</i>	+	<i>-em-</i>	becomes	<i>tmóbóng</i>	'to help'

The only variation to this pattern is when the *-em-* is infixed to a word with the initial consonant *b*. Because the *m* and the *b* are made in the same place in the mouth, the two sounds tend to blend, and the *m* replaces the *b*:

<i>betek</i>	+	<i>-em-</i>	becomes	<i>metek</i>	'to design' (not <i>bmetek</i>)
<i>bənok</i>	+	<i>-em-</i>	becomes	<i>monok</i>	'to murder' (not <i>bmonok</i>)

But the regular pattern is retained with the *-en-*:

<i>betek</i>	+	<i>-en-</i>	becomes	<i>bnetek</i>	'to design (something)'
<i>bonok</i>	+	<i>-en-</i>	becomes	<i>bnonok</i>	'to murder (someone)'

- (2) When infixed into a two-syllable word with a double consonant pattern at the beginning, if the second consonant is an *l*, it is dropped:

<i>hlowon</i>	+	<i>-en-</i>	becomes	<i>hnowon</i>	'to tease (someone)' (not <i>helnowon</i>)
<i>klintang</i>	+	<i>-em-</i>	becomes	<i>kmintang</i>	'to play the <i>klintang</i> instrument' (not <i>kemlintang</i>)

When the first of the two consonants is a *b*, the same blending of the *-em-* and *b* occurs as described above:

<i>blotik</i>	+	<i>-em-</i>	becomes	<i>mlotik</i>	'to be starry' (not <i>bemlotik</i>)
<i>bluut</i>	+	<i>-em-</i>	becomes	<i>mluut</i>	'to be pregnant' (not <i>bemluut</i>)

With the *-en-*, the *b* is retained but the *l* is still dropped:

<i>blotik</i>	+	<i>-en-</i>	becomes	<i>bnotik</i>	'for the stars to be many' (not <i>benlotik</i>)
<i>bluut</i>	+	<i>-en-</i>	becomes	<i>bnuut</i>	'for the stomach to be large' (not <i>benluut</i>)

1.3 Pronunciation

1.3.1 Preference for two-syllable words

As can be seen from the above patterns, there is one basic principle which runs throughout the language: Tboli prefer two-syllable words, so they shorten their words to fit this pattern by regularly dropping two things: (1) The short vowel sound which occurs between a double consonant pattern at the beginning of the words and in all the prefixes, and (2) The light sound of the consonant *l* (described in the previous section).¹

1.3.2 Stress

Stress is on the final syllable of the root word, and it does not shift even when a pronoun suffix is attached to the word. A pronoun is never stressed. In the following examples, the stressed syllable is in bold print:

<i>eted</i>	'to deliver (someone or something)'
<i>Etedu yem ngà.</i>	I'll deliver the child.
<i>mung</i>	'to go along with (someone or something)'
<i>Mungi dɔ.</i>	You come along with me.

The only exception to this rule are four words which have the *e* vowel at the end of the word. In these words, the stress is on the first syllable. The examples given are the only members of this class:

<i>bede</i>	'but'	<i>ngunte</i>	'I don't know'
<i>déke</i>	'possibly/likely'	<i>yake</i>	'good if'

¹ Whenever an *l* is the final sound in an utterance, it is often dropped. But if a pronoun or another word follows, the *l* can be heard again.

2. Nouns

There are two types of nouns in Tboli, regular and derived. The regular nouns are the root words which have no affix at all. The derived nouns are those formed by adding the prefix *ke-/k-* to either a verb or an adjective to form a noun.

2.1 Regular nouns

Regular nouns are the unaffixed root words used to name a person, place or thing. They may be either a common noun or a proper noun:

<i>gunù</i>	'house'
<i>kudà</i>	'horse'
<i>libun</i>	'girl'
<i>Mà Flidu</i>	'father of <i>Flidu</i> (term of address)'
<i>Mtutung</i>	'Matutum mountain'

There is another class of root words which is not so easily recognized as the above examples. These are words that can function either as a noun or a verb, but are most frequently used as verbs:

<i>ogot</i>	'to hold (something)'
<i>ogot</i>	'that which is used to hold (something)'

Ogotem du yem ogot mbegel. Hold it with that sturdy holder.
 Ø-hold.you,SG it that holder sturdy

<i>ofok</i>	'to chop down (something)'
<i>ofok</i>	'that which is used to chop down (something)'

Ofokem du yem ofok Mà Bong. Chop it down with Big Father's chopper.
 Ø-chop.down.you,SG it that chopper Father Big

2.1.1 Pluralization of common nouns

Some common nouns are understood to be basically singular, others to be basically plural.

2.1.1.1 Singular nouns

To pluralize a singular noun, the word *kem* is added just before the noun:

Singular		Plural	
<i>gunù</i>	'a house'	<i>kem gunù</i>	'houses'
<i>kudà</i>	'a horse'	<i>kem kudà</i>	'horses'
<i>libun</i>	'a girl'	<i>kem libun</i>	'girls'

2.1.1.2 Collective nouns

Collective nouns are considered to be basically plural, so it is incorrect to use *kem* with them. Since they can also be used as singular, this type of noun will be noted as being both singular and plural in the dictionary:

<i>blotik</i>	'star/stars'	<i>gulom</i>	'ant/ants'
<i>doun</i>	'leaf/leaves'	<i>soging</i>	'banana/bananas'

2.1.2 Pluralization of personal names

A personal name may be pluralized in order to include those in close association with the individual named. To do so, the third person plural pronoun *le* 'they' is added before the name (see sec. 4.1.1):

Omin le Yē Bong gna.
and.then they Mother Big Ø-go.ahead

And then **Big Mother** and **her companions** went ahead.

Wen le Yē.
there.is they Mother

There is **Mother** and **the rest of the family**.

There is an interesting feature in Tboli when more than one personal name is used as either actor (see sec. 8.2) or experiencer (see sec. 8.1). They do not use 'and' to connect the two names as is done in English. Instead the appropriate number and plural pronoun is used just before the name:

Lewu me Kasi funen.
two we,EX Kasi owner.it

lit., **We two Kasi** are the owners.
nat., **Kasi and I** are the owners.

Tey sidek kbitil me lewu me Alun.
INT bad k-hunger our two we,EX Alun

lit., Very bad **our hunger we two Alun**.
nat., **Alun and I** were really very hungry.

Gunun deng nù se tahu blóng ye Dimas?
where.it PT Ø-to.be EMPH true division you,PL Dimas

Where is the true boundary between **you and Dimas**?

If two or more individuals are named, it results in a long noun phrase which they do not like to use in the actor position following the verb. Rather, the plural pronoun *le* 'they' is used in this position, but the specific individuals are named at the end of the sentence with the appropriate number and plural pronoun included before the names:

Nukét le silà le Gadu lewu le Fludi.
n-pick they corn they Gadu two they Fludi

lit., They picked corn **Gadu they two Fludi**.
nat., **Both Gadu and Fludi** picked corn.

Sulék le gu dini le Fining tlu le Timud
s-once they from here they Fining three they Timud
Ngà Bun.
Ngà Bun

lit., Once they came here, **Fining, they three Timud, Ngà Bun**.
nat., Once **Fining, Timud and Ngà Bun** came here.

Mógów le ... lewu le tuha login, getlu le yem
m-go they two they old man.her third they that
ngà le.
child their

lit., They went...**they two her husband, they three their child**.
nat., **The woman, her husband and their child** went.

2.1.3 Possessives

Possession, ownership or relationship are indicated by either a possessive pronoun or by the relative position of the possessed noun and the possessor.

2.1.3.1 Possessive pronouns

There are two sets of pronouns which are used to show possession, the *-u* set and the *dou* set (see Figure 1). The *-u* set occurs right after the noun it possesses, with the singular pronouns attached to the noun and the plurals written as separate words:

gunuem
house.your,SG

'your house'

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<i>kudà</i> horse	<i>le</i> their	'their horse'
<i>libunu</i> sister.my		'my sister'
<i>iniba</i> -n-ricefield	<i>ye</i> your,PL	'your ricefield'

When the pronoun from the *dou* set is used as the possessive, it always occurs before the noun it possesses, and its function is to emphasize the ownership by implying a negative contrast with another individual, 'my sister (not his)':

<i>dou</i> my	<i>libun</i> sister	'my sister'
<i>kóm</i> your,SG	<i>gunù</i> house	'your house'
<i>kul</i> their	<i>kudà</i> horse	'their horse'
<i>kuy</i> your,PL	<i>iniba</i> -n-ricefield	'your ricefield'

2.1.3.2 Possessive nouns

When a noun is used as the possessor, it always occurs after the noun being possessed. There is no marker equivalent to the Tagalog *ni* or *ng* before the possessive noun:

<i>gunù</i> house	<i>Mà</i> (of)Father	'Father's ² house'
<i>ikong</i> tail	<i>kudà</i> (of)horse	'horse's tail'
<i>ketef</i> roof	<i>gunù</i> (of)house	'roof of the house'
<i>kudà</i> horse	<i>Walan</i> (of)Walan	'Walan's horse'

The possessor in the above examples may itself be possessed:

<i>ikong</i> tail	<i>kudau</i> (of)horse.my	'the tail of my horse'
<i>ketef</i> roof	<i>gunù</i> (of)house	<i>Mà</i> (of)Father
		'the roof of Father's house'

2.1.4 Diminutive

A diminutive is formed by the noun *ngà* 'child' occurring before another noun. It diminishes the meaning of the word it modifies:

<i>ngà</i> child	<i>benwu</i> country	'a little country'
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² When speaking of one's own mother or father, the possessive pronoun 'my' is implied; it is redundant to include it.

<i>ngà</i>	<i>bnotu</i>	'a little wrapped lunch'
child	wrapped.lunch	
<i>ngà</i>	<i>lowig</i>	'a little shelter'
child	shelter	

2.2 Derived nouns

Derived nouns are verbs or adjectives that have become nouns by adding the prefix *ke-/k-* to them. There are also certain nouns which occur with this prefix. These derived nouns always occur with a possessive:

<i>k-</i>	+	<i>des</i>	+	<i>-u</i>	=	<i>kdesu</i>
		pain	+	-my		my.painfulness
<i>k-</i>	+	<i>des mata</i>	+	<i>-hu</i>	=	<i>kdes matahu</i>
		pain eye	+	-my		the.painfulness.of.my.eyes

There are two kinds of derived nouns: (1) Those derived from adjectives become abstract nouns, and they express the quality of the adjective from which it is derived. (An English example of an abstract noun is the word 'goodness' which has been derived by adding 'ness' to the adjective 'good'.) (2) Those derived from verbs or nouns become gerunds, which are words that are used as nouns in a sentence, but have the basic meaning of an action. (An English example of a gerund is the word 'going' which has been derived by adding 'ing' to the verb 'go'.)

2.2.1 Abstract nouns

An abstract noun differs from a regular noun in that a regular noun indicates something which can be touched. An abstract noun cannot be touched. Rather it indicates the quality of something or someone. It is formed by adding the *ke-/k-* prefix to an adjective:

<i>k-</i>	+	<i>des</i>	+	<i>-en</i>	=	<i>kdesen</i>
		painful		-his/her/it		painfulness.it
<i>k-</i>	+	<i>gel</i>	+	<i>-en</i>	=	<i>kgelen</i>
		hard		-his/her/it		hardness.it
<i>ke-</i>	+	<i>hyu</i>	+	<i>-hen</i>	=	<i>kehyuhen</i>
		good		-his/her/it		goodness.his/her

Deng ton me ne yem kehyuhen.
already Ø-see we,EX now that **ke-good**.its

Already we have seen **its goodness**.

Gel mtón ket ne udi yem kdes matahu.
always m-decrease each now little that **k-pain** eye.my

The **painfulness** of my eyes is decreasing little by little.

2.2.2 Gerunds

A gerund is formed by adding the *ke-/k-* prefix to a verb or a noun.

2.2.2.1 *Ke-/k-* + verb

The gerund functions as a noun in the sentence, but its meaning is always the action of the verb from which it is derived:

<i>k-</i>	+	<i>fuk</i>	+	<i>me</i>	=	<i>kfuk</i>	<i>me</i>	'our washing clothes'
		Ø-wash.clothes		our,EX		washing.clothes	our,EX	

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<i>k-</i>	+ <i>kól</i>	+ <i>-u</i>	=	<i>kkólu</i>		'my arriving'
	Ø-arrive	-my		arriving.my		
<i>ke-</i>	+ <i>dýo</i>	+ <i>le</i>	=	<i>kedyo</i>	<i>le</i>	'their bathing'
	Ø-bathe	their		bathing	their	
<i>ke-</i>	+ <i>hlós</i>	+ <i>-em</i>	=	<i>kehlósem</i>		'your proceeding'
	Ø-proceed	-your		proceeding.your		

Tey gel kedyo me ket kdaw.
very always **ke-bathe** our every day

Our **bathing/swimming** was for a long time every day.

Là mimot -en kfuk me.
not use up -it **k-wash.clothes** our

Our **washing clothes** wasn't all done.

In the above examples of gerunds, a derived noun with a possessive pronoun is the subject of the sentence. The literal English translation is not very clear. In a more natural English translation, the possessive pronoun functions as the actor of the sentence, and the derived noun functions as a verb:

lit., Our **bathing** was for a long time every day.
nat., We bathed/swam for a long time every day.

lit., Our **washing clothes** wasn't all done.
nat., We didn't get all our clothes washed.

2.2.2.2 *Ke-/k-* + noun

<i>k-</i>	+ <i>dadu</i>	+ <i>le</i>	=	<i>kdadu</i>	<i>le</i>	'their plowing'
	plow	their		plowing	their	
<i>k-</i>	+ <i>hali</i>	+ <i>-u</i>	=	<i>khaliu</i>		'my being wounded'
	wound	my		being.wounded.my		
<i>ke-</i>	+ <i>hlafus</i>	+ <i>le</i>	=	<i>kehlafus</i>	<i>le</i>	'their being morning'
	morning	their		being.morning	their	

Deng deng kdadu me.
PT PT **k-plow** our,EX

lit., Our **plowing** is already finished.
nat., We have already finished **plowing**.

Tey sidek kegnómu du yem khaliu.
INT bad **ke-feel**.my it that **k-wound**.my

I'm feeling badly (because of) my **being** wounded.

ani hyu kehlafus le ebè tniba
so.that good **ke-morning** their DIR,LOC -n-ricefield

'so that they will be early morning
(going) to the ricefield'

3. Modifiers

There are two types of modifiers in Tboli, adjectives and adverbs.

3.1 Adjectives

Adjectives are words used to describe a person, place or thing, hence they are often called descriptives. Just as there are two types of nouns in Tboli, so there are two types of adjectives, regular and derived. The regular adjectives are root words which have no affix at all. The derived adjectives are those formed by adding an affix from the *me-* set to certain root words.

3.1.1 Regular adjectives

Most adjectives in Tboli are unaffixed root words:

<i>bong</i>	'big'	<i>lomi</i>	'new'
<i>gna</i>	'before'	<i>sidek</i>	'bad'
<i>huli</i>	'after'	<i>són</i>	'only'
<i>hyu</i>	'good'	<i>tahu</i>	'true'
<i>ket</i>	'each'	<i>tuha</i>	'old'
<i>kini</i>	'hot'	<i>udi</i>	'little'
<i>lehen</i>	'skinny'	<i>ukol</i>	'short'

3.1.2 Derived adjectives

Derived adjectives are root words which have become adjectives by adding an affix from the *me-* set (*me-*, *m-*, *-em-* and *-m-*).

3.1.2.1 *Me-* set affix used with nouns

<i>m-</i>	+	<i>abù</i> fatness	=	<i>mabù</i>	'fat'
<i>m-</i>	+	<i>begel</i> support	=	<i>mbegel</i>	'sturdy'
<i>m-</i>	+	<i>gel</i> hardness	=	<i>mgel</i>	'difficult/hard'
<i>m-</i>	+	<i>yak</i> shyness	=	<i>myak</i>	'shy/timid'
<i>me-</i>	+	<i>btes</i> measure	=	<i>mebtes</i>	'expensive'

3.1.2.2 *Me-* set affix used with verbs

<i>me-</i>	+	<i>btik</i> Ø-get.up	=	<i>mebtik</i>	'quick'
<i>me-</i>	+	<i>kteng</i> Ø-pull	=	<i>mekteng</i>	'direct'

3.1.2.3 *Me-* set affix used with adjectives

<i>-em-</i>	+	<i>lehen</i> thin	=	<i>lemehen</i>	'slender'
<i>-m-</i>	+	<i>tahà</i> tall	=	<i>tmahà</i>	'oblong'

Certain adjectives never occur without the *m-* prefix, i.e., they cannot be separated into *m-* + *ayuk* or *m-* + *oni*:

<i>mayuk</i>	'far'	<i>moni</i>	'nearby'
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3.1.3 Distribution of adjectives

Adjectives may occur in two basic positions, either following the noun or preceding it.

(1) Those that occur following the noun

The majority of the adjectives are descriptives and occur after the noun they modify:

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<i>él</i>	<i>tnaw</i>	'cold water'
water	cold	
<i>kudà</i>	<i>bong</i>	'big horse'
horse	big	
<i>Mà</i>	<i>Bong</i>	'Big Father (term of address showing respect)'
father	big	
<i>suk</i>	<i>tahà</i>	'long knife'
knife	long	
<i>tau</i>	<i>ukol</i>	'short person'
person	short	
<i>Yè</i>	<i>Huli</i>	'Last Mother (term of address for last wife of father)'
mother	last	

(2) Those that occur preceding the noun

The following adjectives occur before the noun they modify and function to limit it:

<i>dê</i>	<i>ngà</i>	'many children'
many	child	
<i>dumu</i>	<i>tau</i>	'other people'
other	people	
<i>kdê</i>	<i>ngà</i>	'all the children'
all	children	
<i>ket</i>	<i>tau</i>	'each person'
each	person	
<i>lomi</i>	<i>tau</i>	'young person'
new	person	
<i>són</i>	<i>tau</i>	'only person'
only	person	
<i>tehe</i>	<i>funen</i>	'previous owner'
previous	owner.it	

(3) Those that occur either before or after the noun

There are a few adjectives that may occur either before or after the noun with no apparent change of meaning:

<i>bong tau/tau bong</i>	'big person'
<i>gna tau/tau gna</i>	'former people/person'
<i>tahu lan/lan tahu</i>	'true path'

There are other adjectives that may occur in both positions, but with a change of meaning:

<i>libun</i>	<i>tuha</i>	'old woman'	<i>tuha</i>	<i>libun</i>	'wife'
female	old		old	female	(term of address)
<i>logi</i>	<i>tuha</i>	'old man'	<i>tuha</i>	<i>logi</i>	'husband'
male	old		old	male	(term of address)

<i>dumu</i>	<i>ngà</i> 'another child'	<i>ngà</i>	<i>dumuhu</i>	'the child of
another	child	child	companion.my	my companion'

3.1.4 Number of adjectives used in sequence

Usually only one adjective occurs following a noun, but there are a few cases where two adjectives may occur in sequence:

<i>libun</i>	<i>kogò</i>	<i>nubón</i>	'a bent over, white haired woman'
woman	bent.over	white.haired	

<i>tau</i>	<i>bong kwasa</i>	'a man of authority who is rich'
person	big rich	

A more natural combination is to have one adjective from the class that occurs before the noun used to modify a noun phrase:

<i>ngà</i>	<i>kafal udi</i>	'a very little ship'
child	ship little	

<i>són</i>	<i>tau</i>	<i>Tboli</i>	'only a person who is a Tboli'
only	person	Tboli	

<i>tehe</i>	<i>benwu</i>	<i>gnahen</i>	'the former country of olden times'
former	country	before.it	

3.1.5 A further function of *bong* and *udi*

The two words *bong* 'big' and *udi* 'little' may be used to modify an adjective. The word *bong* is used to increase the meaning of the adjective being modified and occurs preceding it:

<i>bong</i>	<i>hyu</i>	'very good'
big	good	
<i>vong</i>	<i>lamang</i>	'a very wide area'
big	wide	
<i>bong</i>	<i>legen</i>	'a very long time'
big	long.time	
<i>bong</i>	<i>mayuk</i>	'very far'
big	far	
<i>bong</i>	<i>sidek</i>	'very bad'
big	bad	

The word *udi* is used to diminish the actual meaning of the adjective being modified and occurs following it:

<i>bong</i>	<i>udi</i>	'a little bit big'
big	little	
<i>lamang</i>	<i>udi</i>	'a little bit wide'
wide	little	
<i>legen</i>	<i>udi</i>	'a little bit long'
long.time	little	

<i>mayuk</i>	<i>udì</i>	'a little bit far'
far	little	
<i>tahà</i>	<i>udì</i>	'a little bit long'
long	little	

3.2 Adverbs

Adverbs modify verbs, adjectives and other adverbs. In Tboli there are a large number of words included in this category. Some indicate tense. Others indicate the duration or frequency of the action. Others express a desire or wish in connection with the action. Still others limit the action or emphasize it or intensify it.

These words can also be divided into two classes, those that occur before the word they modify, and those that occur following it.

3.2.1 Those occurring before the word they modify

The majority of the adverbs modify verbs, and they occur before the verb. Whenever the verb uses a pronoun from the *-e* set as either actor or experiencer of the sentence, the adverb always attracts the pronoun away from its normal position following the verb:

<i>Bitil</i>	+	<i>-e</i> .	= <i>Bitile</i> .	I'm hungry.
Ø-hungry		-I		
<i>Deng</i>	+	<i>-e</i>	<i>bitil</i> .	= Denge bitil .
PT		-I	Ø-hungry	I'm already hungry.

3.2.1.1 Tense markers

There is a class of adverbs functioning as tense markers which occur before the verb. These also attract the *-e* set of pronouns functioning as either a focused actor or experiencer:

<i>angat</i>	distant future	<i>lomi</i>	recent past
<i>deng</i>	past tense	<i>móyón</i>	near future
<i>des</i>	action completed	<i>tehe</i>	remote past
	beforehand	<i>tolo</i>	present continuative

Tolo le mken.
still they m-food

They are still eating.

Angat le kini.
will they Ø-hot

They will be hot.

The past tense *deng* may be used with the appropriate tense markers to add the sense of a time or action completed. When this occurs, the *-e* set of pronouns used as a focused actor or experiencer is attracted to *deng*:

Deng deng.
PT Ø finish

It's already finished.

Deng móyón gungó.
PT-Ø almost noon

It's already almost noon.

Deng lomi lemwót.
PT-Ø recent -em-leave

He/she already left just recently.

Deng le tehe lemwót.
PT they previous -em-leave

They **already** left long ago.

Deng eles niten.
PT in.advance -n-bring.he

He/she has **already** in advance brought it along.

3.2.1.2 Time of action

There is another class of adverbs which indicate the time the action took place. These always attract the -u set of pronouns which function as nonfocused actor:

<i>gu laan</i>	'before'
<i>igò</i>	'while'
<i>klawi</i>	'as long as'
<i>kogol</i>	'after'
<i>lel</i>	'at the same time'

<i>luk</i>	'besides that'
<i>omin</i>	'then'
<i>sónmò</i>	'always'
<i>uni</i>	'immediately'

Igou tolo mken, tódò tonu.
while.I still m-food just sec.I

While I was still eating, I immediately saw (it).

Tolo lelu dmadu.
still continue.I m-plow

I'm still plowing.

Sónmou tendo dmadu.
always.I continue m-plow

I'm always continually plowing.

3.2.1.3 Duration of action

There is another class of adverbs indicating the duration of the action of the verb. These also attract the -e set of pronouns which function as either a focused actor or experiencer:

<i>bud</i>	'again'
<i>gel</i>	'usually/always'
<i>hanà</i>	'still'
<i>hlun</i>	'temporarily'
<i>kendel</i>	'quickly'

<i>sal</i>	'always'
<i>sana</i>	'already'
<i>tendo</i>	'continually'
<i>tódò</i>	'immediately'

Tódòe mlóy.
immediate.I m-run

Immediately I ran.

Bude mlóy.
again.I m-run

Again I ran.

The adverb *gel* 'usually/always' can be modified by a wide range of adverbs from all the various classes:

Deng tehe gel nmò le.
PT previous always n-do they

Previously they **always** did that.

Tódò gel htinof kun.
immediate-Ø always h-quiet it.is.said

He immediately **always** becomes quiet it is said.

Tey gel hligal.
INT, I always h-happy

I'm always very happy.

3.2.1.4 Intensity

There is another commonly used class of adverbs which intensify the verb or adjective they modify (*tey/ali* 'very' and *hol* 'really'):

Holi mlóy!
INT, you m-run

Run fast!

Tey mlóy.
INT, Ø m-run

He ran very fast.

Ali sidek udélen.
INT bad word.his/her

His/her words were very bad.

Hol tahu udélen.
INT true word.his/her

His/her words are really true.

Tey is the adverb most widely used to modify verbs, adjectives, other adverbs and even nouns:

Tey bong.
INT, Ø big

It's very big.

Tey gel hendemu u.
INT always -en-think. I you

I'm always thinking very much about you.

Tey bulul.
INT, Ø mountain

It's a very high mountain.

3.2.1.5 Wish or desire

There is another class of adverbs which express a wish or desire in connection with the action. (*Tô* is the only one that attracts the pronoun actor away from its normal position following the verb.)

<i>déke</i>	'likely/probably'	<i>tô</i>	'would like/about to'
<i>dô</i>	'approximately/about'	<i>yake</i>	'good' if
<i>kô</i>	'maybe/perhaps'		

Toé mung kul mosol.
would.like. I m-go.along them downhill

I'd like to go down with them.

Déke deng kól dini.
likely PT, Ø arrive here

It's likely he has already arrived here.

Kô lanahi.
perhaps Ø-lost.you, SG

Perhaps you will get lost.

3.2.1.6 Limitation

There is a class of adverbs which modify adjectives. They add a sense of limitation to the adjective being modified:

<i>olo</i>	'merely/only'	<i>malù</i>	'somewhat'
<i>olò</i>	'at least/only'	<i>tek</i>	'just/only'
<i>Tek sòn Yè mógów.</i>			Only just Mother is going.
Only just Mother m-go			
<i>Malù mgel udi.</i>			It's somewhat a little hard.
somewhat hard little			
<i>Olon udi blayem do.</i>			Give me only a little.
only.it little Ø-give.you,SG me			
<i>Malù mélél yem soging.</i>			The banana is somewhat ripe.
somewhat yellow that banana			

3.2.2 Those occurring after the word they modify

(1) Indicating time

There is another class of adverbs indicating time which occur after the verb:

<i>eginu</i>	'DIR,early'	<i>kedeng</i>	'by and by/later'
	(of the same day)	<i>koni</i>	'just a moment ago/just now'
<i>he</i>	'yet'	<i>ni/ne</i>	'now'
<i>Deng me mken koni.</i>			We just now finished eating.
PT we,EX m-food just.now			
<i>Kól le kdeng.</i>			They will arrive by and by.
Ø-arrive they by.and.by			

(2) Indicating emphasis

There are three particles used for emphasis, *gi*, *se*, and *dé*. They occur following the word they emphasize, and there seems to be almost no limitation as to what they can emphasize:

<i>Là gi, là kóe mýó tagak.</i>	No! I definitely do not want to stay behind.
NEG EMPH NEG definite.I m-like/want stay.behind	
<i>Kamaen se.</i>	What a waste!
waste.it EMPH	
<i>Yó dé hyu.</i>	That one is good!
that EMPH good	

4. Noun substitutes: personal pronouns

There are four pronoun sets in Tboli, each set with its own specific functions. The *-e* set and the *ou* set function only as substitutes for the noun participants that are in focus in the sentence; the *-u* set and the *dou* set function only as substitutes for the noun participants that are not in focus. So the four sets can be divided into two groups, focused and nonfocused pronouns. Figure 1 displays these four pronoun sets.

Focused Pronouns		Nonfocused Pronouns	
-E set		-U set	
<i>-e/-he</i>	'I'	<i>-u/hu/-w</i>	'I/my/mine'
<i>-i/hi</i>	'you,SG'	<i>-em/-hem/-m</i>	'you,SG' 'your,SG'
$\emptyset$	'he/she/it'	<i>-en/-hen/-n</i>	'he/she/it' 'his/her/its'
<i>tekuy</i>	'we all,IN'	<i>tekuy</i>	'we all,IN' 'our,IN'
<i>me</i>	'we not you,EX'	<i>me</i>	'we not you,EX' 'ours not yours,EX'
<i>te</i>	'we two,DU'	<i>te</i>	'we two,DU' 'our,DU'
<i>ye</i>	'you,PL'	<i>ye</i>	'you,PL' 'your,PL'
<i>le</i>	'they'	<i>le</i>	'they/their'
Ou set		Dou set	
<i>ou/o</i>	'I/me'	<i>dou/do</i>	'me/my/mine'
<i>uu/u</i>	'you,SG' 'you,SG'	<i>kóm</i>	'you/your'
<i>du</i>	'he/she/it' 'him/her/its'	<i>kun</i>	— 'his/her/its'
<i>tekuy</i>	'we all,IN' 'us all,IN'	<i>tekuy</i>	'us all,IN' 'our,IN'
<i>mi</i>	'we not you,EX' 'us not you,EX'	<i>kum</i>	'us not you,EX' 'ours not yours,EX'
<i>tu</i>	'we two,DU' 'us two,DU'	<i>kut</i>	'us two,DU' 'our,DU'
<i>ye</i>	'you,PL' 'you,PL'	<i>kuy</i>	'you,PL' 'your,PL'
<i>le</i>	'they/them'	<i>kul</i>	'them/their'

Figure 1. Personal pronouns

4.1 Focused pronoun sets

4.1.1 The -e set

As can be seen from Figure 1, the singular pronouns from the focused -e set are a single vowel (-e or -i). In writing these, they are attached to the verb itself.

Since 'he/she/it' is indicated by an absence of a pronoun, this is marked with a $\emptyset$ on the chart and in the glosses. Whenever the negative *là* occurs with verbs which ordinarily would use this pronoun, the -en from the nonfocused -u set is used instead:

<i>Mken.</i> m-food- $\emptyset$		He/she/it is eating.
<i>Là</i> neg	<i>mkenen.</i> m-food.he	He/she/it is not eating.
<i>Hnali.</i> n-wound- $\emptyset$		He/she/it is wounded.
<i>Là</i> neg	<i>hnalien.</i> n-wound.he	He/she/it is not wounded.
<i>Gna.</i> $\emptyset$ -ahead- $\emptyset$		He/she/it is ahead.
<i>Là</i> neg	<i>gnahen.</i> $\emptyset$ -ahead.he	He/she/it is not ahead.

When the singular pronouns -e or -i are attached to a root word ending with a vowel, they become -he or -hi:

<i>ma</i>	'to get some'
<i>mahe</i>	'I'll get some...'
<i>mahi</i>	'You,SG get some...'

The plural pronouns all begin with a consonant, making them seem more like separate words. Since they can be used in more than one position in a sentence (see sec. 2.1.2), all the plural pronouns are written as separate words.

Mken tekuy ne.
m-food we,IN now

Let us all eat now.

4.1.1.1 Focused experiencer or actor³

The -e set of focused pronouns functions either as focused experiencer or focused actor. As an experiencer, the pronoun substitutes for the one experiencing the state or condition expressed by the verb. As an actor, it substitutes for the one doing the action of the verb.

As an experiencer, it occurs with stative verbs using an affix from either the *me-* set or the *ne-* set, but often it occurs with verbs using no affix at all. As an actor, it occurs only with verbs using an affix from the *me-* set.

³The functions of pronouns cannot be described without mentioning the focus of the sentence in which they are used. So in this chapter the five types of focus are briefly mentioned, but a full description is given in section 8.

(1) Focused experiencer

*Gnahi.**β-ahead.you,SG*

You go ahead.

*Myak.**m-embarrass-β*

He/she is embarrassed.

*Hnalie.**-n-wound.I*

I have cut myself.

(2) Focused actor

*Mkeni bélê me.**m-food.you,SG PREP us,EX*

You eat with us.

*Mken tekuy ne.**m-food we,IN now*

Let us all eat now.

In a sentence where certain adverbs modify the verb, these adverbs attract the pronoun experiencer or actor to itself from the normal position following the verb:

*Dengi gna.**already.you,SG β-ahead*

You are already ahead.

*Tolo**still-β**myak.**m-embarrass*

He is still embarrassed.

*Lomihe**recent.I**hnali.**n-wound*

I recently cut myself.

4.1.2 The *ou* set

The *ou* set may occur in the position before the verb (which implies a contrast with some other person or thing), or it may occur in the position following the actor. In the preverb position it functions as experiencer, actor, goal or object. In the postverb position it functions as either goal or object.

4.1.2.1 Contrasted experiencer in preverb position

As the contrasted experiencer in the preverb position, the *ou* set of pronouns is used with stative verbs. Stative verbs are often found with no affix at all, or they may use an affix from either the *me-* set (see sec. 9.3.1) or the *ne-* set (see sec. 9.3.2):

*Uu**you**huli.**β-last*

You (not someone else) be the one to be last.

*Lu**they**matù.**m-win*

They (not someone else) are the ones who won.

*Du**he**lenekef.**-en-to.have.a.cold*

He (not someone else) is the one who has a cold.

4.1.2.2 Contrasted actor in preverb position

As the contrasted actor in preverb position, the *ou* set of pronouns is used with verbs marked with an affix from the *me-* set indicating an AFS (see sec. 8.2):

*Ou se mton kóm koni.**I EMPH m-see you just.now*

I'm the one who saw you just now.

Du mit yem snafang.
he m-bring that gun

He's the one who brought the gun.

4.1.2.3 Focused object

As the focused object, the *ou* set of pronouns function as the one directly involved in the action of the verb. It usually occurs following a nonfocused goal, but if a goal does not occur in the sentence, it follows the actor. It may also occur in the position before the verb.

As a focused object, it occurs with verbs marked with an affix from the *ne-* set or with those with no affix at all.

- (1) Object focus signalled by *ne-* set affix

Gel nbô Mà ou.
always n-carry.on.back Father me

Father always carried me on his back.

Ou se gel nbô Mà.
I EMPH always n-carry.on.back Father

I'm the one Father always carried on his back.

- (2) Object focus with no affix

Tonu uu koni.
Ø-see.I you just.now

I saw you just now.

Uu se tonu koni.
you EMPH Ø-see.I just.now

You are the one I saw just now.

4.1.2.4 Focused goal

As a focused goal, the *ou* set of pronouns function as the one to whom the action of the verb is directed. It occurs either in the position following the actor or in the preverb position. It always occurs with verbs marked with an affix from the *ne-* set (see sec. 8.4):

Nkay ie u bigu.
n-serve they you winnowing.tray

They served (the food) to you on a winnowing tray.

Uu nkay ie bigu.
you n-serve they winnowing.tray

You are the one they served on a winnowing tray.

4.2 Nonfocused pronoun sets

The *-u* set and the *dou* set are the nonfocused pronoun sets. As can be seen from the chart at the beginning of this chapter, the nonfocused *-u* set and the focused *-e* set are very similar. The plural pronouns are identical, written as separate words in both sets. The singular pronouns of the *-e* set are vowels; the singular pronouns of the *-u* set all begin with a vowel, so the singular pronouns from both sets are attached directly to the verb when writing them. When the verb ends in a vowel, these singular pronouns from both sets add the consonant *h* before the vowel of the pronoun. The following are examples of this from the *-u* set. Note further that when this occurs the pronouns may be abbreviated to a single final consonant:

nawa
nawahu/nawaw
nawahem/nawam
nawahen/nawan

'breath'
'my breath'
'your breath'
'his/her breath'

4.2.1 The -u set

The -u set of pronouns function as a nonfocused actor, a nonfocused goal with the preposition *bélê* or as a possessive pronoun.

4.2.1.1 Nonfocused actor

As a nonfocused actor, the position of the -u set of pronouns always follow the verb. It occurs with all the verbs used for OFS, GFS or IFS, whether these verbs are marked with an affix from the *ne-* set or whether they occur with no affix at all.

(1) With an object focus verb

Gel nwitu yem kudà lem bulul.
always n-bring.I that horse in mountain

I always bring that horse (up) into the mountains.

Eteden Blinun lem bulul.
Ø-deliver.he Blinun in mountain

He delivered *Blinun* (up) into the mountains.

(2) With a goal focus verb

Yake benlay ye o bulón huli.
good.if -en-give you,PL me month after

Good if you give me next month (off).

(3) With an instrument focus verb

Toolem du tnikel yem mimetem.
Ø-string.you,SG it thread that necklace.your,SG

You string your necklace with thread.

4.2.1.2 Nonfocused goal

The -u set of pronouns is always used with the preposition *bélê* when it functions as a nonfocused goal. *Bélê* has a wide range of meaning. In English it would be expressed by using the prepositions from, with, by, to, at, among, etc. In Tboli it occurs with verbs signalling experiencer focus, actor focus and object focus.

As a nonfocused goal, the preposition and its pronoun usually occur immediately following the experiencer or actor in a sentence, but if these are in preverb position, they occur following the verb.

(1) With an experiencer focus verb

Tlu hunes ken nù bélén.
three bundle food Ø-to.be PREP,him

Three bundles of food are with him.

Slób béléu bè gunuhu dmadu.
Ø-stop.by-Ø PREP,me LOC place.my m-plow

He stopped by me where I was plowing.

(2) With an actor focus verb

Mdómi bélê le haya.
m-borrow.you,SG PREP them tomorrow

Borrow from them tomorrow.

Hemyuhi bélê le sfoló.
-em-good.you,SG PREP them ten

You put ten away for them.

Laen dù kmahi bélê le.
NEG,it left -m-salt PREP them

None among them has salt to use.

(3) With an object focus verb

Sidek nmò le béléen.

bad n-do they PREP,him

It was bad what they did to him.

Gefet dini tinok ye bélé me.

reach here ~~β~~-request you,PL PREP us

It reach here to us what you requested.

4.2.1.3 Nonemphasized possessive

The *-u* set also functions as a nonemphasized possessive following nouns, either regular or derived:

kógówen

k-go.his

'his going'

kudau

horse.my

'my horse'

kyak

k-embarrassment

le

their

'their embarrassment'

silaem

corn.your,SG

'your corn'

4.2.2 The *dou* set

The *dou* set of pronouns functions as a nonfocused goal, a nonfocused object, an emphatic possessive or as a reiteration of an experiencer, an actor or an object at the end of a sentence for emphasis.

4.2.2.1 Nonfocused object

A pronoun from the *dou* set functions as a nonfocused object with verbs signalling either actor focus or instrument focus. It only occurs in an AFS when the actor is in preverb position.

(1) With an actor focus verb

Dwata semgyok kuy.

God -em-care.for you,PL

May God take care of you all.

(2) With an instrument focus verb

Bulungu du⁴ yem bulung Yē.

~~β~~-treat.with.medicine.I her that medicine Mother

I treated her with Mother's medicine.

A possible reason for not using the pronoun *kun* is that there is also a particle *kun* indicating reported speech with which it could be confused. This particle indicates that the speaker is not a witness of the event he is talking about or the originator of the opinion he is expressing, but that he has heard it from someone else and is simply reporting what he heard:

Lii kun.

~~β~~-taboo-~~β~~ it.is.said

It is said to be taboo.

⁴ When *kun* 'he/she/it' from the *dou* set is needed, the equivalent pronoun *du* is used from the focused *ou* set (see Figure 1).

Tehe benwu gnan kun wen wolu tau. It is said that in the previous world,
former country before.it it.is.said there.is eight people there were eight people.

4.2.2.2 Nonfocused goal

As a nonfocused goal, the *dou* set of pronouns functions as the one for whom the action is done, the one who will benefit from the action. It occurs with verbs signalling either actor focus or object focus.

The dual form *kut* 'us two' functions to add an element of politeness to a request.

- (1) With an actor focus verb

Hemyuhi kut sfolò.
-em-good.you,SG us,DU,(polite) ten

You put ten away for us, please.

- (2) With an object focus verb

Henken ye do ni kem ngà.
-en-food you,PL me this PL child

You feed these children for me.

Sfunges ken blay le kum.
s-wrapper food Ø-give they us,EX

They gave us one wrapped (bundle) of food.

4.2.2.3 Nonfocused object with a negative

A pronoun from the *ou* set is always used as a focused object in an OFS. But whenever a negative is added to the sentence, a pronoun from the nonfocused *dou* set replaces the pronoun from the focused *ou* set:

Hnebelu uu.
-n-look.for.I you,SG

I looked for you.

Là hnebelu kóm.
NEG -n-look.for.I you,SG

I didn't look for you.

Nafasu lu.
n-hold.back.I them

I held them back.

Là nafasu kul.
NEG n-hold.back.I them

I didn't hold them back.

4.2.2.4 Emphasized experiencer, actor or object

An added emphasis is given to an actor, an experiencer or an object by reiterating it at the end of the sentence with a pronoun from the *dou* set. Oftentimes the emphasis particle *se* occurs immediately preceding the pronoun.

- (1) With an experiencer focus verb

Tódò biang se kun.
just-Ø Ø-fall EMPH him

He just fell as for him.

Nungel le se kul.
n-foolish they EMPH as.for.them

They are foolish as for them.

(2) With an actor focus verb

Mkene soging dou.
m-food.I banana me

I'm eating a banana **as for me.**

(3) With an object focus verb

Là kô henyu le du se kul.
NEG certain -en-good they it EMPH them

They certainly did not put it away **as for them.**

Là kô tulónu du dou.
NEG certain ~~h~~-tell.I it **as.for.me**

I certainly did not tell it **as for me.**

4.2.2.5 Contrasted possessive

The pronoun from the *dou* set always occurs before the noun it possesses, whether it is a regular noun or a derived noun. In this position it implies a negated contrast with another individual for clarification. 'mine (not his)':

Gel hinum ye kem do onuk.
always h-give.a.drink you,PL PL **my** chicken

Always give **my** chickens water to drink.

Deng hnagiu kul kmò.
PT h-study.I **their** k-to.do

I have already studied **their** doings.

4.3 Display of pronoun functions

Figure 2 shows the different functions of the four sets of pronouns in Tboli as described in this section:

	Pronoun set	Function	Position	Verb affix
Focused sets	-e	actor	following verb	me-
		experiencer	following verb	me-, ne-, Ø
	ou	actor	before verb	me-
		experiencer	before verb	me-, ne-, Ø
		object	before verb, or following goal*	ne-, Ø
		goal	before verb, or following actor	ne-
Non-focused sets	-u	actor	following verb	ne-, Ø
		goal (with <i>bélê</i>)	following actor	me-, ne-, Ø
		possessive	following noun	
	dou	emphasis: actor experiencer object	end of sentence	me- me-, ne-, Ø ne-, Ø
		object	following goal*	me-
		object	following actor	ne-, Ø
		goal	following actor	me-, ne-, Ø
		possessive (emphatic)	before noun	

Figure 2. Functions of personal pronouns

*If the goal does not occur in the sentence, the object follows the actor.

5. Noun substitutes: demonstrative pronouns

There are three sets of demonstrative pronouns in Tboli, the *ni* set, the *nim* set and the *dini* set. Each set has four demonstratives which indicate relative distance of the items spoken about to the participants in a conversation. The distance may be in terms of space, time or thought.

(1) The *ni* set

<i>ni</i>	'this'	<i>tu</i>	'that (far)'
<i>yó</i>	'that (near)'	<i>yu</i>	'that (very far)'

(2) The *nim* set

<i>nim/ni kem</i>	'this/these'	<i>tum/tu kem</i>	'that/those (far)'
<i>yem/yó kem</i>	'that/those (near)'	<i>yum/yu kem</i>	'that/those (very far)'

(3) The *dini* set

<i>dini</i>	'here'	<i>ditu</i>	'there (far)'
<i>dyó</i>	'there (near)'	<i>dyu</i>	'there (very far)'

'This' is close to the speaker, usually closer than to the hearer. 'That (near)' is a short distance from the speaker, often nearer to the hearer. 'That (far)' is far from both the speaker and hearer. 'That (very far)' is even farther from both of them.

A demonstrative plus a noun forms a noun phrase that functions to specify or single out a certain person, thing, place or time already referred to, or it may substitute for it (see sec. 6.2.4).

5.1 The *ni* set

The *ni* set of demonstrative pronouns functions as a substitute for a specific participant which is in focus in a sentence. It may also substitute for location or time.

5.1.1 As a substitute for a focused participant in a sentence

As can be seen in the examples that follow, the demonstrative refers to something already mentioned in the immediate situation, something already known to both the speaker and the hearer.

(1) Object

Yó nitem kut.
that n-bring.you,SG us,DU(polite)

That is what you can bring for us.

Ke yó nmoen, hensalà le.
if that n-do.he h-en-sin they

If that is what he does, they will fine him.

Deng dsù Mà du yó koni.
PT Ø-offer Father it that just.now

Father offered that (to the spirits) just now.

(2) Comment of nonverbal clause

Ni ngaen.
this child.her

This is her child.

Yó desen, nolos.
that sickness.its n-to.wither

What its sickness is, it is withered.

Ni se kul bulung bitil.
this EMPH their medicine hungry

This indeed is their medicine for hunger.

5.1.2 As a substitute for a location

When used as a substitute for a location, the *ni* set usually occurs with the preposition *bè* functioning as a location marker, but it can occur without it.

(1) With *bè*

Deng kmoen se silà dnadu bè tu?
PT k-do.it EMPH corn -n-plow LOC there

How is the corn there in the plowed field doing?

Mahil miwól libun bè yó.
easy m-to.court girl LOC that

It is easy to court a girl there.

(2) Without *bè*

Ne yó angat gunuhu tmiba kdeng.
And that FT place.my -m-ricefield later

And that is where I will make a ricefield later.

Tu tonoken.
there land.his

There is his land.

5.1.3 As a substitute for a time word

When substituting for a certain time, a *ni* set demonstrative may be used alone, with the preposition *bè*, or with a specific time word.

(1) Used alone

Deng mukas sotu fedyan le ni ne.
PT more.than one market they **this** now

They are already more than one week
now at **this time**.

Omin le yó mbut kemlo du.
and.then they **that** m-begin -em-weeding.tool it

And then at **that time**, they began to
weed it.

(2) Used with *bè*

Ne ke mnóng kdaw bè yó, ominen mtem du.
and if m-ray sun LOC **that** then.he m-burn it

And if the sun shines at **that time**, then
he burns it.

(3) Used with a time word

Bude mógów ebè Afus kemdaw ni kedeng.
again.I m-go DIR,LOC Afus -em-day **this** later

I'm going to Afus again later **today**.

Ne eles tnógó ni ke kifu.
and in.advance -n-cook **this** when night

And cook it **tonight** ahead of time.

Although time is not one of the focused participants signalled by an affix on the verb, it may occur before the verb if it is necessary to contrast it with some other time for clarification:

Akad huli tu bude mógów.
Sunday after there again.I m-go

Sunday after next I'm going again.

Kifu ni kedeng kógów le.
tonight this later k-go their

Later **tonight** they will be going.

5.1.4 Used with a noun for specificity

To be even more specific about a certain time or place or a certain participant, a *ni* set demonstrative may occur both preceding and following the noun:

Okóm ni kemdaw ni eginu, kemlo
but **this -em-day this** DIR,early -em-weeding.tool
me bè tniba.
we,EX LOC -n-ricefield

But earlier today we weeded in the
ricefield.

Ni kmoen ni, sotuhu feñ tebel bè gunù.
this k-do.it this one.I ID Ø-left.behind LOC house

At **this time** I am the only one left in
the house.

Són ni kifu ni, là tnawe.
only **this night this** NEG Ø-cold.I

It is only **this night** that I'm not cold.

Tedu angat kmoen ni knagiu ni?
what FT k-do.its this k-study.my this

What will I do about this my studying?

Nmò le mambang ni ubi ni.
n-make they bread this sweet.potato this

They are going to make bread from these sweet potatoes.

Són ktonu du tu ngau tu,
last k-see.I him that child.mine that

My last time to see that child of mine, he was already leaving home (straying).

nbuten huabag ne.
n-begin.he h-leave.home now

Tek sotu bélé le gewà yó kem tau
only one PREP them g-escape that PL that

Only one of those people just now (talked about) escaped.

yó koni
person just.now

Hlò kem kóm ngà yó kem yó.
all PL your,SG child that PL that

All those are your children.

5.2 The *nim* set

The *nim* set of demonstratives is a very hard worked set of demonstratives. Its function is to refer back to a participant that has already been spoken of in the immediate situation, a participant already known to both speaker and hearer. It occurs with both focused and nonfocused participants, so there is hardly a sentence where a demonstrative from this set is not used.

This set has both a singular and a plural form. When the focused participant is singular, the *nim* form is used, e.g. *nim ngà* 'this child'. When it is plural, the demonstrative occurs with the plural marker *kem*, e.g. *ni kem ngà* 'these children'.

5.2.1 The *nim* set used with focused participants

The *nim* set of demonstratives is used to specify a certain person, place or thing functioning as the focused participant of a sentence. It may be a focused actor, goal, object or instrument. It also occurs with the topic of a nonverbal clause.

(1) Actor

ne mudél nim Mà Bong monen
And m-word this Father Big said.he

'and Big Father (already mentioned) spoke, he said'

okóm kul ni kem iwas, gel mon le
But them this PL monkey always said they

'but as for them the monkeys (already mentioned), they always said'

Móyô le nù lem bulul yó kem Tboli.
m-like they Ø-to.be in mountain that PL Tboli

Tboli like to live in the mountains.

(2) Object

Deng densù Mà yem blétè bong
PT -en-offer Father that baletè big
debwak.
nearby.lower.area

Father gave an offering (to the spirits)
for the big baletè (tree) right below
(us).

Tngónem ne kó yem deng kyehenu?
Ø-know.you,SG now QU that PT k-spouse.my

Did you know about my marriage?

(3) Goal

Deng henbuk Yè bulung yem ngà
PT h-en-smoke Mother medicine that child
wen desen.
there.is sickness.his

Mother caused the medicine to smoke
(toward) the child who is sick.

(4) Instrument

Bulungu kóm yem bulung henyuhu.
Ø-medicine.I you,SG that medicine -en-good.I

I will medicine you with that medicine
I saved.

(5) Topic in nonverbal clause

Tey denlag yem lem tuduk.
INT -en-forest that in distant.mountain

That distant mountain is very heavily
forested.

Deng béhéng yem gunù leged.
PT Ø-lean that house higher.level

That house above (us) is already lean-
ing.

Móyónen ne yem ktem le.
almost.it now that k-burn their

It is almost time now (for) their burn-
ing/for them to burn (their field).

Tey sidek boohen yem inget kudà.
INT bad odor.its that perspiration horse

The perspiration of a horse smells bad.

But when the speaker and the hearer are in a familiar situation, the demonstratives are seldom used with the focused participants. They are considered unnecessary for understanding.

5.2.2 The *nim* set used with nonfocused participants

The *nim* set of demonstratives is also used with nouns functioning as nonfocused participants, whether they are actor, object, goal, location or time.

(1) Unfocused actor

Benosen kuluhen tum sowu.
-en-hide head.its that boa.constrictor

The boa constrictor hid its head.

(2) Unfocused object

Lu bemli du yem kuleng bong.
they -em-buy it the cooking.pot big

They were the ones to buy the large cooking pot.

(3) Location

sok le kól bè yem gunù
if/when they ß-arrive LOC that house

'when they arrive at that house (already mentioned)'

Kól me bè yem benwu mon le Sarangani.
ß-arrive we,EX LOC that country say they Sarangani

We arrived at the country they call Sarangani.

(4) Time

Ni se nmò me bè nim bekasyon ni.
this EMPH n-do we,EX LOC this vacation this

This is what we did during this vacation.

Bè yem halay yo, là deng me mnagi he.
LOC that year that NEG PT we,EX m-study yet

That was the year we hadn't started studying yet.

Examples have also been found of the demonstrative occurring before the location marker:

Là mayuken yem bè le Mà Kusin yó.
NEG m-far.it that LOC they Father Kusin that

It's not far to that (place) of the Father of Kusin (and his family).

Nuket le sila yem bè tehe gunun mdef
n-pick they corn that LOC former place.its m-land
ówóng.
airplane

They picked corn in that place where the plane used to land.

Dnadu me yem bè tehe gunù Gendulot.
-n-plow we,EX that LOC formerly house Gendulot

We plowed that area where Gendulot's house used to be.

5.2.2.1 Used in 'of' phrases/genitive phrases

A genitive phrase in English is when two nouns are linked with an 'of' as in the phrase 'field of corn'. But in Tboli there is no such link between the two nouns that form a genitive phrase. These phrases may indicate kinship, possession, or a part-whole relationship.

(1) Kinship

ngà
child

Ting
Ting

'child of Ting'

yehen
spouse

Mà
Father

Dina
Dina

'wife of the Father of Dina'

(2) Possession

gunù
house

Mà
Father

'house of (my) Father'

suk
knife

Témê
Grandfather

'knife of (my) Grandfather'

(3) Part-whole

<i>but</i>	<i>koyu</i>	'foot of the tree'
beginning	tree	
<i>kulu</i>	<i>él</i>	'head of the river'
head	river	

But in situations that are less familiar, where there is a need to be more specific to be understood, demonstratives of the *nim* set are used along with the nouns in the genitive phrase:

<i>yem mà yem libun</i>	'the father of the girl'
that Father that girl	
<i>yem gunù yem fun iniba</i>	'the house of the owner of the ricefield'
that house that owner -n-ricefield	
<i>Hensalà yem mà yem libun yem logi.</i>	The father of the girl fines the boy.
h-en-sin that father that girl that boy	
<i>Bnasahem kem tuha yem libun.</i>	You give gifts to the parents of the girl.
-n-give.gift.you,SG PL old that girl	

5.2.2.2 Used to introduce a dependent clause functioning as time

<i>yem deng kgefeten bè gunù le</i>	'when he reached their house'
that PT k-reach.his LOC house their	
<i>yem hanà kegenen du datù ekni</i>	'when he was still the leader in the past'
that still k-length.of.time,his it leader DIR,k-this	
<i>yem igò le tolo mken</i>	'while they were still eating'
that while they still m-food	

5.2.3 The *nim* set used to indicate known information

Once a participant has been introduced, there is a special form of the demonstrative used when the participant is referred to again as known information: *nim...ni* 'this one...this'. This form indicating known information is used with focused participants, with location and with time. It is used to keep the elements in the story all properly linked together. An example of this can be seen in the following sentences taken from a story:

<i>Deng bulón móyón ktiba, gel tenngel le</i>	When it is almost time to make a
PT month almost k-ricefield always -en-look.at they	ricefield, they always look at the stars.
<i>blotik.</i>	
star	
<i>Nim blotik gel tenngel le ni, sundu yem blotik</i>	These certain stars they always look
this star always -en-look.at they this NEG that star	at, it's not the stars we all always see at
<i>gel ton tekuy kifu.</i>	night.
always Ø-see we,IN night	

Limu kwen le ni kem blotik tmiba ni. There are five of them **these stars** for
five k-there.is their **this PL. star -m-ricefield this** **making a ricefield.**

When the participant being referred to is visible to both the speaker and the hearer or is known to both, this combination *nim ni* 'this one' may be used as a substitute for the participant:

Nim mu nim ni, sok wen hohon le The purpose of **this one here**, if they
this purpose this this if there.is enemy their have an enemy

Wen se tau là gemfu du ni kem ni. There are people who don't finish **these**
there.is EMPH person NEG g-em-finish it **this PL. this** **things.**

5.3 The *dini* set

The *dini* set of demonstrative pronouns substitutes for a certain location:

Tey tñaw dini. It's very cold **here**.
INT-Ø Ø-cold **here**

Ne diñu gunù me tungô. It was **there** the place where we slept.
and **there** place our,EX Ø-sleep

There is directional marker *e-* used with the *dini* set of demonstrative pronouns. It indicates a direction towards the place indicated by the demonstrative:

Mógów-i edini. Come **here** (to me).
m-go.you,SG DIR,here

Hwitu edyô lukas filak. I'll send the leftover money **there** (to
h-send.I DIR,there leftover money you).

This directional marker is used only with the *tu* 'far distant' of the *ni* set:

Bud me mulék etu bè Maitum. Again we returned **there** to Maitum.
again we,EX m-return DIR,there LOC Maitum

5.4 Ways of being more specific with demonstratives

Tboli have two ways of adding a further element of specificity to the demonstratives: (1) by repeating the final vowel of the *ni* set and the *dini* set, and (2) by using the particles *sii* and *dii* with the *ni* set.

5.4.1 Repeating the final vowel of the demonstrative

The final vowel in either the *ni* set or the *dini* set may be repeated, making the demonstrative even more specific:

Tey hulung dmadu safi nii. **This here** steer really knows how to
really know.how -m-plow steer **this,SP** **plow.**

Kegenem de dinii? How long will you be staying **here** at
k-length.of.time.you,SG QU **this,SP** **this place?**

Snólóku diñuu kedeng. I'll ask about it later **there** at that place.
-n-ask.I **there,SP** later

5.4.2 Using *sii* and *dii* particles

The *sii* and *dii* particles are used with the *ni* set of demonstratives. Their function is to add a strong degree of specificity or exactness:

Ni sii yem filak.
this SP that money

This right here is the money.

Yó sii.
that SP

That is exactly right.

Ni sii khuten.
This SP k-begin.its

This is how this one begins.

Olohem hmung do tu dii.
just.you,SG h-accompany me that SP

Just let **that one** right there go with me.

Yó dii nóyóu.
that SP n-want.I

That's the very one I want.

6. Noun phrases

A noun phrase is a noun plus a particle or a modifier or a combination of these. The particle is the nonfocus particle *ke* used with personal nouns, the only particle used in the Tboli focus system. The modifier may be a possessive pronoun, an adjective, a demonstrative or a verbal clause.

6.1 Personal nouns with the nonfocus particle *ke*

A noun phrase is formed whenever the nonfocus particle *ke* occurs with a personal noun. This particle signals that the personal noun is not the participant in focus in the sentence:

Munge ke Wè Ting elem bulul.
m-accompany.I NF Friend Ting DIR,in mountair.

I'm going **with Friend Ting** into the mountains.

Hwitem do ke Alun suk udiu.
h-send.you,SG me NF Alun knife little.my

Send my little knife to me **with Alun**.

Wen se tulónu ke Mà.
there.is EMPH Ø-tell.I NF Father

There is indeed something I'm going to tell **Father**.

Fen mfas lefò ke Lewadin.
ID m-cut.grass coconut NF Lewadin

As for Lewadin, he is the one to cut grass under the coconuts.

6.2 Nouns with a modifier

There are several classes of modifiers that may occur with a noun to form a noun phrase. It may be another noun or pronoun functioning as a possessive or it may be an adjective, a demonstrative or a verbal clause.

6.2.1 Nouns modified by a possessive

A noun phrase is formed whenever a noun is modified by a possessive. The possessive may be either a noun or a pronoun. It may occur after the noun it modifies or before it.

There are two sets of possessive pronouns: the *-u* set (see sec. 4.2.1) which occurs after the noun and is the most frequently used, and the *dou* set (see sec. 4.2.2) which occurs before the noun. In this position, there is an implied contrast with someone or something else for clarification:

Yó kudaen.
that horse.his

That's **his** horse.

Kun kudà yó.
his horse that

That horse is **his** (not someone else's).

If a personal name is used as a possessive following the noun, it is unmarked. But if it occurs before the noun, the nonfocus particle *ke* is used with it:

Yó kudà Walan.
that horse **Walan**

That's **Walan's** horse.

Ke Walan yem kudà yó.
NF Walan that horse that

It's Walan (who owns) that horse (not someone else).

6.2.2 Nouns modified by an adjective

A noun phrase is formed whenever a noun is modified by an adjective. Certain adjectives occur before the noun they modify, others occur after it, and still others may occur either before or after the noun they modify (see sec. 3.1.3).

6.2.2.1 Noun phrase with the adjective preceding the noun

Ket tau se benlay le tonok.
each person EMPH -en-give they land

It was to **each** person they gave land.

Ntuken tehe kimu tóbóngen ke Fining.
n-collect.he **former** property Ø-help.he NF Fining

He was collecting the **former** property he had used to help *Fining*.

Són usoken ne dù tagak.
only rice.grain.it now left left.behind

Only the rice grains are now left behind.

6.2.2.2 Noun phrase with the adjective after the noun

Wen kô bud dumu lan mahil?
there.is QU again another path **m-easy**

Is there another **easy** path?

Nofok le kem koyu lembang.
n-chop.down they PL tree **large**

They chopped down the **large** trees.

6.2.2.3 Noun phrase where the same adjective may occur either before or after the noun

Deng lomi hwitu se eginu gna sulatu.
PT recent h-send.I EMPH DIR,early **first** letter.my

I recently sent my **first** letter.

tehe benwu gnahen kun
former country before.it it.is.said

'it is said (that) in the former country
from before/in the past'

Wen kô bud dumu lan mahil?
there.is QU again another path m-easy

Is there another path that's easy?

Nauyen yem tau dumuhen nbok le bè
n-visit.he that person companion.his n-open they LOC

He visited that person who was his relative whom they had operated on in Dadiangas.

Dadiangas.
Dadiangas

6.2.2.4 Number of adjectives in a sequence

Usually only one adjective occurs following a noun (see sec. 3.1.4). Two may occur, but this is not common:

Wen bew logi kemgis.
there.is carabao male -em-strong

There is a strong, male carabao.

A more natural combination is to have one adjective from the class of adjectives that occurs before the noun used to modify a noun phrase:

Wen bud dumu lan mahil.
there.is again another path m-easy

There is another path that is easier.

Wen tehe tutul gnahen kun.
there.is former story before.it him

According to him, there is a former story from the past.

Deng smakad silau bè tehe simbahan gna.
PT -m-tassel corn.my LOC former church before

My corn is already tasseled (that was planted where) the former church stood in the past.

6.2.3 Nouns modified by a plural marker

A noun phrase is formed whenever a noun occurs with a plural marker. There are two plural markers in Tboli, *kem* (see sec. 2.1.1) used with common nouns, and *le* (see sec. 2.1.2) used with personal names.

6.2.3.1 *Kem* used with common nouns

Ton me kem kafal bè kilil mohin.
Ø-see we, EX PL ship LOC edge ocean

We saw the ships at the edge of the ocean.

Nogot me kem kahun me.
n-hold.on.to we, EX PL box our, EX

We held on to our boxes.

Kem kuleng le, gotu nwit le.
PL cooking.pot their all n-bring they

Their cooking pots, they brought them all along with them.

Tô nékét le o kem kudà.
about.to n-bite they me PL horse

The horses were about to bite me.

6.2.3.2 *Le* used with personal names

Kól me bè le Témê Kóg.
 Ø-arrive we,EX LOC they Grandfather Kóg

We arrived at (the place of) Grandfather *Kóg* and his household.

Mógów le etu bè le Bé.
 m-go they DIR,there LOC they Grandmother

They went there to (the place of) Grandmother and her household.

Deng kmoen se tniba le Mà ne
 FT k-do.it EMPH -n-ricefield they Father and

How is the ricefield of Father and Grandmother?

Bé?

Grandmother

Often this noun phrase with the plural marker *le* occurs following the nonfocused pronoun *kul* 'them' functioning as goal in order to identify who it is the pronoun refers to:

Ne munge kul le Wè Walan.
 and m-accompany.I them they Friend Walan

And I accompanied Friend *Walan* and the others.

Ne na me na stulón kul le Mà yem kifu.
 and first we,EX first s-tell them they Father that night

And first we talked with Father and his household that night.

Mò kul le Témê Ukol se?
 Ø-do them they Grandfather Short EMPH

How is Short Grandfather and his household doing?

Another variation of this noun phrase is when specific numbers of people involved are indicated, and when the speaker includes himself by using the pronoun *me* 'we,EX':

Tey sidek kbitil me lewu me Alun.
 INT bad k-hungry our,EX two us,EX Alun

Alun and I were very hungry.

Mógów le elem Buling lewu le tuha login.
 m-go they DIR,in Buling two them old male.her

She and her husband went to (the area of) Buling.

Kemlo me bè tniba Lewadin tlu
 -em-weeding.tool we,EX LOC -n-ricefield Lewadin three

Lewadin, his wife and I weeded in his ricefield.

me Lewadin yehenen.
 us,EX Lewadin wife.his

6.2.4 Nouns modified by a demonstrative

6.2.4.1 With a *ni* set demonstrative

A noun phrase is formed when a noun occurs with a demonstrative from the *ni* set (see sec. 5.1). This demonstrative usually occurs following the noun, but it may also occur preceding it:

(1) Following the noun

Mdóhe bè benwu ni dou.
 m-leave.I LOC country this me

I'm leaving this country as for me.

Angat metlasik ngà kudà ni.
 FT me-quick child horse this

This little colt is going to be a fast (runner).

Hensideken ktahu tau tu.
hen-bad.he k-person.my person that

That person disgraced me.

Ken te ne ken yó koni.
Ø-food we,DU now food that just.now

Let's you and I eat that food now that we just got.

(2) Preceding the noun

Là hbayaden du kóm tum kimu.
NEG h-pay.he it you,SG that possessions

He won't make you pay for that property.

Móyón teflok ne ni udélu ebéléem.
almost stop now this word.my DIR,PREP,you,SG

These words of mine to you are about to stop.

Ne yó bok gunuhu temgón du yem mò
and that book place.I -em-know it that PREP
ktahuhen.
k-true.its

And it was from that book I learned the truth.

(3) Both preceding and following the noun for specificity

Nmò le mambang ni ubi ni.
n-make they bread this sweet.potato this

They will make bread from this sweet potato here.

Ni kemdaw ni eginu, kemlo me.
this -em-day this DIR,early -em-weeding.tool we,EX

Earlier today we weeded.

Okóm laen dù kimuhen yó kyónen yó.
but NEG,it left property.his that k-sit.his that

But when he was sitting there, he had no property left.

Són ktonu du tu ngau tu, nbuten
only k-see.my him that child.my there n-begin.he
htabag ne.
h-leave.home now

When I last saw that child of mine, he was already beginning to leave home/stray.

This *ni* set of demonstratives also occurs with the plural marker *kem*, i.e., *ni kem* 'these'. It occurs with or without a *ni* set demonstrative following the noun:

Gel tbó doun le ni kem koyu ni.
always Ø-drop.off leaf their this PL tree this

The leaves of these trees always drop off.

Du gna mung bè yó kem dumu tau.
he first m-accompany LOC that PL other person

He was the first to accompany those other people.

Yake tódó blay le bè tu kem dumu tau.
good.if just Ø-give they LOC that PL other person

Good if they would just give it to those other people.

6.2.4.2 Nouns with a *nim* set demonstrative

When it is necessary to refer back specifically to something already introduced in the immediate context, a demonstrative from the *nim* set is always used preceding the noun, with the equivalent demonstrative from the *ni* set following the noun, i.e., *nim...ni*:

Tungô me bêlê le yem kifu yô.
 Ø-sleep we,EX PREP them that night that

We slept with them **that night** (already mentioned).

Denge hulung mogot du nim snafang ni.
 PT,I Ø-know.how m-hold it **this gun** this

I know how to hold/shoot **this gun** (already mentioned).

Wen êlen tum tîfæ tu ne tey
 there.is water.its **that wild.palm** there and INT
mi.
 sweet

That wild palm tree (already mentioned) has a liquid, and it's very sweet.

6.2.5 Nouns modified by a verbal clause

A noun phrase modified by a verbal clause forms another type of noun phrase (indicated in bold print). The verbal clause (underlined in the examples) is a complete statement in itself, with a verb and an actor with or without other participants such as goal, object, location, etc. (Verbal clauses will be considered in sec. 8.)

Toŋu yô kem doloj masà kilil lan.
 Ø-see.I that PL wild.fruit m-lie edge path

I saw **the wild fruit lying by the edge of the path**.

Wen bew Ting kemgis mò nmò.
 there.is carabao Ting -em-strong Ø-do n-do

There is **Ting's carabao who is strong to work**.

Tey dê dumu libun môyô mnagi.
 INT many other female m-like m-study

There are **many other women who would like to study**.

Ne gehedemu yem kudà bukay demyol afus.
 and ge-think.I that horse white -em-drag bamboo

And I remembered **that white horse that dragged the bamboo**.

Kól me bè yem gunù tulón yem tau yô
 Ø-arrive we,EX LOC that house Ø-tell that person there
koni.
just.now

We arrived at **the house the man had told us about earlier**.

Ni yem ówóng tehe tulónem bè sulatem.
 this that boat former Ø-tell.you,SG LOC letter.your

This is **the boat you had told us about in your letter**.

Ntuken yem kimu tóbóngen ke Fining.
 n-collect.he that possessions Ø-help.he NF Fining

He was collecting **the property he had used to help Fining**.

Hnéngu yem silà hulu me.
 -n-look.at.I that corn h-plant we,EX

I looked at the corn **that we had planted**.

Nauyen yem tau dumuhen nbok le bè
 n-visit.he that person companion.his n-open they LOC

Dadiangas.

Dadiangas

He visited that person who was his
 relative whom they operated on in
 Dadiangas.

7. Nonverbal sentences

Sentences in Tboli may be divided into two types: nonverbal, i.e., those sentences that do not use a regular verb, and verbal, i.e., those sentences that use a regular verb plus participants such as actor, object, goal, etc. Since the nonverbal are easier to learn than the verbal, these will be considered first.

All nonverbal sentences consist of two parts: there is the topic, which is the person or thing being spoken about, and there is the comment, the information given about the topic. The comment is usually new information and occurs first in the sentence.

There are five types of nonverbal sentences in Tboli: existential, descriptive, equational, possession and location.

7.1 Existential

There are words called existentials which indicate the existence or nonexistence of items. In Tboli the existential word is *wen* 'there is/there exists'. This is considered to be the comment about the topic being spoken about. The topic may be either a noun phrase or a verbal clause. In the examples below, comment and topic will be separated by a |.

(1) Existential with a noun

Wen | desu.

there.is sickness.my

lit., There is my sickness.

nat., I'm sick.

Yakem wen | dumuhu.

good.if,? there.is companion.my

lit., Good if there was my companion
 (but there isn't).

nat., Good if I had a companion (but I
 don't).

(2) Existential with a noun phrase

Wen | des yem ngà udi le.

there.is sickness that child little their

lit., There is the sickness of their
 youngest child.

nat., Their youngest child is sick.

Wen | yem slungan.

there.is that wooden.trunk

lit., There is that wooden trunk.

nat., The wooden trunk is there.

(3) Existential with a verbal clause

Wen | kem tau nù du.

there.is PL person 3-to.be it

There are people living in it.

Wen | kem bayad nbóen he.

there.is PL payment n-carry.he yet

There are debts he is still carrying.

Wen | Dwata tnóbóng du.

there.is God -m-help her

There is God who will help her.

Wen | hnebelen.
there.is h-n-look.for.he

There is something he is looking for.

Wen | bulung nmò le.
there.is medicine n-do they

There is a medicine they have made.

Wen | blówón blayen yem ngà.
there.is gong Ø-give.he that child

There is a gong he gave to the child.

Wen | onuken deng mngà.
there.is chicken.his PT m-child

There is his chicken that has already laid eggs.

7.1.1 Negated with là

The existential is negated with *là*. The negative with the existential means 'there is no':

Là wen | lefò bentù me.
NEG there.is coconut -en-break.open we,EX

There were no coconuts that we broke open.

Là wen | sulat gu bélé ye.
NEG there.is letter from PREP you,PL

There has been no letter from you.

Là wen | hmò Mà do.
NEG there.is h-do Father me

There is nothing Father has had me do.

When the negative *laen dù* 'there is no/none' is used with the existential, it has the meaning that there is nothing left at all:

Laen dù | halay le.
NEG,It left unhulled.rice their

lit., There is none left of their unhulled rice.
nat., They have no unhulled rice left.

Laen dù | desen yem ngà udi le.
NEG,It left sickness.his that child little their

lit., There is no sickness of their youngest child.
nat., Their youngest child isn't sick.

Laen dù | dumuhu stulón.
NEG,It left companion.my s-tell

lit., There is no companion of mine to talk with.
nat., I have no companion to talk with.

Whenever the pronoun *-en* 'he/she/it' is used with *wen*, it always means 'it', and the existential has the meaning of 'not many/not much':

Là wen | -en.
NEG there.is it

There isn't much of it.

Là hōlen wen | ken le.
NEG INT,It there.is food theirs

They do not have much food.

Là hōlen wen | tau hūba le.
NEG INT,It there.is person h-ricefield they

They are not having many people (help them) make a ricefield.

7.1.2 Optional constituents

There are two other participants that may occur with a nonverbal existential: location and time.

(1) With location

Location may be indicated with either the *bè* location marker or a location word. Location always occurs at the end of the sentence:

Wen | *dnalang tekuy bè yem Udél Dwata.*
there.is -n-learn we,IN LOC that Word God

There is that which we learn from the Word of God.

Wen | *sidek du bè yem ilò kdawu.*
there.is bad it LOC that sign sun.my

There is something wrong with my watch.

Wen | *desen bè kini.*
there.is sickness.his LOC hot

There is his sickness from the heat.

Wen | *fol nù talaken.*
there.is storehouse β -to.be middle.its

There is a storehouse in the middle (of the field).

Wen | *dumu kudà moni.*
there.is companion horse nearby

There is another horse nearby.

There is also a location phrase marked by the word *gunù* 'place'. But it functions in a much broader sense than is seen in the examples above. It always occurs with the *-u* set of pronouns functioning as a possessive. The word final glottal stop is dropped when a singular pronoun is attached to the word:

Wen | *gunum lala.*
there.is place.your β -disturb

You are being disturbed.

Wen | *gunuhu élél.*
there.is place.my β -lack

There is a place where I'm lacking.

Wen | *gunù le segled.*
there.is place their se-claim

There is something they are both claiming/quarreling over.

(2) With time

Time may be either a time word or a word giving a measure of time. If location and time both occur in a sentence, time follows location. The modifier *dô* 'approximately/about' often occurs with it:

Wen | *dô hanà sóól mneged kdaw.*
there.is about still halfway m-climb.a.hill sun

It is still about 9 A.M.

Wen | *dô shulón he kun.*
there.is about one.month yet him

There is about one month yet according to him.

Wen | *dô mukas limu folò halayen.*
there.is about more.than five ten yes -is

He is probably more than fifty years old.

Wen | tau gemti sdô bê ni eginu.
there.is person -em-shoot pig LOC here DIR,early

There was a person who shot a pig here earlier.

7.2 Descriptive

In a nonverbal descriptive sentence, the comment describes the person or thing being talked about, i.e., the topic. The comment is either an adjective (see sec. 3.1) or a stative verb (see sec. 8.1). The topic may be a noun, a noun substitute or a noun phrase.

(1) Noun as the topic

If a noun is used as the topic, it may be either a regular noun or a derived one:

Ali miteg | Bê.

INT m-tired Grandmother

Grandmother is very tired.

Tey mnóng | kdaw ni.

INT m-shine sun now

The sun is very bright now.

Ali gedlug | yem kebli kem ngâ.

INT more.than.enough that ke-buy PL child

What the children bought was too much.

Tey hyu | kbuguhen.

INT good k-fruit.its

It's fruiting was very good.

(2) Noun substitute as the topic

If a noun substitute is used as the topic, it is either from the focused -e set of personal pronouns or from the *ni* set of demonstratives.

Mabu | -e.

m-fat I

I'm fat.

Hügal | -i.

Ø-happy you,SG

You are happy.

Hyu | yô.

Ø-good that

That is good.

Ali tahâ | nim ni.

INT Ø-long this this

This one is very long.

(3) Noun phrase as the topic

Tehe tey dê | dumu nmô me.

former INT many companion work our,EX

Formerly we had so many other kinds of work.

Mahil | yem kôgôw me.

m-easy that k-go our,EX

Our going/trip was easy.

Deng gotu mékeng ne | silâ le.

PT,Ø all m-dry now corn their

Their corn is all dry now.

Lambut | *le Yē Udī.*
-em-angry PL Mother Little

Little Mother and her companions are angry.

Ali hulung hmódó | *kem Tboli.*
INT Ø-know.how -m-welcome PL Tboli

Tboli really know how to be hospitable.

Tey tñaw | *nim éi ni.*
INT Ø-cold this water this

This water (already mentioned) is very cold.

Tahu | *yem udélen.*
true that word.his

His words are true.

(4) Topic-comment ordering

When the topic needs to be contrasted with another person or thing for clarification, then the topic occurs before the comment:

Bé | *yem ali miteg.*
Grandmother that INT m-tired

It is Grandmother who is really tired.

Yem bulung tñaw | *ali héét.*
that medicine cold INT bitter

It is malaria medicine that is so bitter.

If a pronoun is used as a contrasted topic, it is from the focused *ou* set:

Ou se | *mabù.*
I EMPH m-fat

I'm the one who is fat.

Du | *yem ali miteg.*
she that INT m-tired

She is the one that is so tired.

7.2.1 Negated with *là*

A nonverbal descriptive sentence may be negated by *là*. This sentence ordinarily takes the focused -*c* set of pronouns as actor. When the pronoun 'he/she/it' is needed as actor or experiencer, the pronoun -*en* 'he/she/it' from the nonfocused -*u* set is used instead:

Là hyu | *-hen.*
NEG good it

It's not good.

Là ket | *-en.*
NEG complete it

It's not complete.

Là menek | *-en kbenwu Tboli.*
NEG m-settle it k-country Tboli

The Tboli way of living is not settled.

Là tahu | *ktiba le du he.*
NEG true k-ricefield their it yet

lit., Their clearing for a ricefield is not true yet.
nat., They are not actually clearing for a ricefield yet.

When a modifier is used before the descriptive word or phrase, the modifier attracts the pronoun actor to itself:

Là holen | *hulung.*
NEG INT,she Ø-know.how

She doesn't really know how.

Là holen | *likò kun.*
NEG INT,she Ø-afraid her

She's not really afraid as for her.

Là holen | *hyu kegnómu du kemdaw ni.*
NEG INT,it good k-feel.my it -em-day this

lit., It is **not** very good how I feel today.
nat., I'm **not** feeling **very** good today.

Là dogen | *tahà sulatu ebéléem.*
NEG INT,it long letter.my DIR,PREP,you

My letter to you is **not** very long.

7.2.2 Optional constituents

There are three optional participants that may occur with a nonverbal descriptive sentence: location, goal and time.

7.2.2.1 Location

Location may be indicated either with the *bè* location marker or a location word. A demonstrative from the *ni* set may substitute for a place:

Tey ali bong kulón | *nim bulón ni bè klamang*
INT INT big rain this month this LOC k-wide

There is so much rain this month all over Cotabato (province).

Cotabato.
Cotabato

Tódô menck | *lem gunù.*
just m-quiet inside house

It is just quiet in the house.

Mgel | *yem nmò me bè ni koni.*
m-difficult that n-do our,EX LOC here just.now

It was difficult work that we did here just now.

7.2.2.2 Goal

Goal is indicated by a pronoun from the *-u* set occurring with the preposition *bélé*. This preposition has a wide area of meaning. In English it would be expressed by to, for, with, among, from, etc.:

Tilob | *ktolok me bélé le.*
beautiful k-teach our,EX PREP them

Our teaching them was beautiful.

Ali kbeyen | *Seitan béléu.*
INT k-settle.in Satan PREP,me

Satan had completely settled in with me.

Tey hyu | *nawa le ebélé me.*
INT good breath their DIR,PREP us,EX

Their attitude towards us was very good.

7.2.2.3 Time

Time may be a time word, a word giving a measure of time or a demonstrative from the *ni* set substituting for time:

Mahil | *yem kógów me ekimel.*
m-easy that k-go we,EX DIR,early.afternoon

Deng tey bong | *ngà nati ni kmoen ni.*
PT INT big child colt this k-do.it this

Tey knagi | *me ebuleng.*
INT k-study our,EX DIR,24.hour.period

Our going was easy early yesterday afternoon.

The little colt is already very big at this time.

We really studied last night.

7.3 Equational

In a nonverbal equational sentence, the comment and the topic refer to the same thing, i.e., they 'equate' one another. Since they are in balance, a noun phrase may be used as either the topic or the comment, with or without a demonstrative from the *ni* set or the *nim* set. The *ni* set demonstrative may also occur alone:

Mà Imi | *boluyen.*
Father Imi name.his

Sónen | *ni.*
only.it this

Yó | *bunguhen.*
that fruit.its

Yó se | *botong ktud yem bulungen.*
that EMPH extent k-effective that medicine.his

Són gel kumà me | *yem sakù halay.*
only always blanket our,EX that sack rice

Són udel | *nuhul.*
only word their whistle

Boluy nim nmoen ni | *bulung bolos.*
name this n-work.his this medicine fox

Yem dou nit | *yem sowu.*
that my n-bring that python

Ne yó des yem tau, | *bokong.*
and that sickness that person deaf

His name is the Father of *Imi*.

This is all there is.

That's its fruit.

That is the extent of the effectiveness of his medicine.

Our blanket was always only a rice sack.

Their only words are whistles.

The name of what he is doing is medicine for the fox.

What I brought was the python.

And the sickness of the person is deafness.

(1) Time as comment

A time word may occur as comment along with a derived noun functioning as topic:

Ekimel | *kkólen.* His arrival was **early yesterday afternoon.**
DIR,early.afternoon k-arrive.his

Legen udi | *yem tendo kni Mà.* Father's continual praying went on for
long.time little that continue k-pray Father **quite a long time.**

Kifu | *kebeng le.* It was **at night** their burying him.
night k-bury their

7.3.1 Topic-comment ordering

If it is necessary to contrast the noun used as topic with another noun for clarification, the topic would then occur before the comment:

Yem tuha libun yó, | *Yê Genew.* **That old woman** is the Mother of
that old woman that Mother Genew *Genew.*

Ou | *gna tau.* **I** am the first person.
I first person

Du se | *yem ngà ali bong tóbóngem du.* **She** is the child you helped a great deal.
she EMPH that child INT big Ø-help.you,SG her

7.3.2 Negated with *sundu/sindu*

The nonverbal equational sentence may be negated by *sundu/sindu* 'it's not'. The pronoun *du* 'it' always occurs along with *sundu* following whatever is being negated:

Sundu Mà Imi du | *boluyen.* His name is **not** Father of *Imi*.
NEG Father Imi it name.his

Sundu Yê Genew du | *yem tuha libun yó.* That old woman is **not** Mother of
NEG Mother Genew it that old woman that *Genew.*

Sundu yó du | *bunguhen.* That is **not** its fruit.
NEG that it fruit.its

Sundu sowu du | *yem dou nit.* It was **not** the python that I brought.
NEG python it that my n-bring

Sundu bulung bolos du | *yem nmoen yó.* It is **not** medicine for a fox that he is
NEG medicine fox it that n-do.he there making there.

7.4 Possession

In the nonverbal sentences indicating possession, the comment is the possessor and the topic is the possessed item. The comment may be either a noun or a pronoun. If the comment is a noun, it is marked by the nonfocus particle *ke*. If it is a pronoun, it is a nonfocused pronoun from the *dou* set functioning as a possessive.

The topic may be either a noun phrase or a demonstrative from the *ni* set substituting for it:

Ke Ting | sewel yó.

NF Ting trousers that

Those trousers **belong to Ting**.

Ke Abing | funen ke wen soging huluhen.

NF Abing owner if there.is bananas Ø-plant.he

Abing is the owner if there are bananas he plants.

Kun | yem kumù Tboli yó.

his that blanket Tboli that

It's **his** that Tboli blanket there.

Dou | ni.

mine this

This is **mine**.

There is a preposition *mò* 'for' which functions as indicating purpose. It may occur before the noun or pronoun used as possessor to indicate potential ownership:

Mò ke Ting | sewel yó.

PREP NF Ting trousers that

Those trousers are **for Ting**.

Mò yem ngà wen desen | nim bulung
PREP that child there.is sickness.her this medicine

ni.
this

This medicine (already mentioned) is **for the child who is sick**.

Mò kom | yem lieg yó.

PREP you,SG that necklace that

That necklace (already mentioned) is **for you**.

7.4.1 Topic-comment ordering

If it is necessary to contrast the noun used as topic with another noun for clarification, the topic may occur before the comment:

Yem bew logi | mò ke Kasi.
that carabao male PREP NF Kasi

It's the male carabao that is **for Kasi**.

Yem lieg ni | ke Yē Bong.
that necklace this NF Mother Big

This is the necklace **for Big Mother**.

Tey sidek kkowen | ke Umék kun.
INT bad k-cough.her NF Umek her

It is a very bad cough that *Umek* has as for her.

Són yem | ke Alun klot.
only that NF Alun tight

It is **only the one** for *Alun* that is tight.

7.4.2 Negated with *là*

A nonverbal sentence indicating possession may be negated by *là*. The negative requires that the pronoun *du* 'he/she/it' occurs after the possessor:

Là ke Ting du | yem sewel yó.
NEG NF Ting it that trousers that

That pair of trousers (already mentioned) is **not for Ting**.

Là dou du | nim lieg ni.
NEG mine it this necklace this

This necklace (already mentioned) is
not mine.

Là ke Kasi du | yem bew logi.
NEG NF Kasi it that carabao male

That male carabao is not for Kasi.

7.5 Location

In a nonverbal sentence indicating location, the comment is either the place of the action or the person/place toward which the action is directed. It may be the specific name of a person or place occurring with the location particle *bè*, a noun phrase with or without one of the location words (see sec. 10.2.2) or a noun substitute.

The topic is always marked by the word *gunù* 'place'. Only two classes of verbs are used following *gunù*: a stative verb signalling an EFS (see sec. 8.1) or a verb with the *me-* affix signalling actor focus (see sec. 8.2).

The word *gunù* 'place' always occurs with a possessive, either a noun or a pronoun. It can also occur with a pronoun from the *-u* set. If the singular pronoun is used, the word final glottal is dropped since the pronoun is attached to the word.

(1) Noun as location

Bè Ting | gunuhen mit du.
LOC Ting place.his m-bring it

He brought it to Ting.

Bè Bongu | gunù le ston ekimel.
LOC Bongu place their s-see DIR,early.afternoon

It was at Bongu where they saw each other early yesterday afternoon.

(2) Noun phrase as location

Bè gunù Mâ | gunù Kasi mton ke Gadu.
LOC house Father place Kasi m-saw NF Gadu

It was at Father's house where Kasi saw Gadu.

Lem kahun | gunuhen nù.
inside box place.its β-to.be

It's inside the box.

Ta ofi | sotu gunù le tnéwéng du.
above fire one place their -m-hang it

One place they hang it is above the fire.

Tey dê tindà | gunun emit do.
INT many store place.his DIR,m-bring me

He brought me to very many stores.

Tlu benwu | gunun emógów sok wen
three country place.his DIR,m-go when there.is
matay bè Tboli.
m-die LOC Tboli

There are three countries where a Tboli may go when he dies.

(3) Personal pronoun as a substitute for location

If a personal pronoun substitutes for the person functioning as location, either a pronoun from the nonfocused *-u* set occurs with the preposition *bélê* or a pronoun from the focused *ou* set occurs as the comment:

Du ne | *gunuhu mni.*
he now place.my m-ask

He's now the one to whom I pray.

Béléu | *gunuhen emeted du.*
PREP,me place.her DIR,deliver it

She delivered it to me.

(4) Demonstrative pronoun as a substitute for location

If a demonstrative pronoun substitutes for the location, a demonstrative from the *ni* set is used with or without the location marker *bè*:

Yó sotu but | *gunù le élél bè Tboli.*
that one beginning place their lack LOC Tboli

That's one reason why Tboli are needy.

Ni se | *gunù me nù.*
This EMPH place our,EX Ø-to.be

This is where we live.

Ne yó | *angat gunuhu tmiba kedeng.*
and there FT place.my -m-ricefield later

And there is where I will make a ricefield later on.

Bè yó | *gunù le temngón du ke*
LOC that place bold their -em-know it if
angat kmulón dun mnóng kdaw.
FT -m-rain or m-shine sun

That is their way to know whether it will rain or whether the sun will shine.

7.5.1 Negated by *laen dù*

A nonverbal sentence indicating location is negated by *laen dù* 'there is no/none':

Laen dù | *gunù me hemwù du.*
NEG,it left place our,EX h-em-send it

There is no one with whom we can send it.

Laen dù | *gunù me mton du dini yem lan yó.*
NEG,it left place our,EX m-see it here that path there

There is no place here where we can see that path (already mentioned).

Laen dù | *gunuhen egefet hendemu.*
NEG,it left place.its DIR,reach -en-thought.my

I'm not able to reach any decision.

Laen dù | *gunuhu mung.*
NEG,it left place.my m-go.along

There is no one with whom I can go.

Laen dù | *gunuw lungun nawa.*
NEG,it left place.my worry breath

There is nothing that I'm worried about.

7.5.2 Optional constituents

Time may occur in a nonverbal sentence indicating location. It always occurs at the end of the sentence:

Bè lemisa | *gunù Tunyu hemsù du eginu.*
LOC table place Tunyu hem-put it DIR,early

It was on the table where Tunyu put it earlier.

Bè ni | gunù le ston koni.
 LOC here place their s-see just.now

Here is where they saw each other just
 now.

8. Verbal sentences: focus system

There is a certain distinctive feature of Philippine languages that English does not have, and this feature is the main reason for the difficulty English speakers have in learning to speak a Philippine language correctly. It is called the 'focus system', the system which shows the relationship between the verb and the other participants in the sentence.

In most Philippine languages the participants may be a person, thing, place or time; it may be a single word or a phrase. For example, in the English sentence 'Yesterday the father gave his son a gong', the words 'yesterday, father, son' and 'gong' are the participants in the action of giving. In most Philippine languages, this relationship between the verb and the participants is a grammatical one signalled by a particle which indicates which participant in the sentence is in focus, i.e., which participant is the most prominent in the sentence. The affix on the verb designates the role (actor, object, etc.) the focused participant plays in the sentence.

Tboli does not have these focus marking particles, so the focus system is signalled mainly by the affix used on the verb. What further complicates learning the system in Tboli, however, is that many of the verbs are used without an affix. The unaffixed verbs and the participants not marked by any particle results in problems for anyone trying to learn Tboli until a very important fact is realized: word order in Tboli is fixed. So it may be said that the participants in a Tboli sentence are marked, not by overt particles, but by word order. This order is verb, actor, object. If a goal is added, the fixed order is verb, actor, goal and object. If an instrument is added, the fixed order is verb, actor, object and instrument. Location and time may occur at the end of any of the sentences.

There are five sentence types in Tboli based on the five different participants which can be signalled by the verb as being in focus: experiencer focus, actor focus, object focus, goal focus and instrument focus. These five may be divided into two groups based on their strong similarities: EFS and AFS make up one group; object, goal and instrument make up the second. Of these five sentence types, the actor focus and the object focus are by far the most frequently used.

The focused participant may be shifted to the position immediately preceding the verb. So a test to determine whether or not a certain participant is in focus is to see if it can occur in this preverb position. If it can without changing anything else in the sentence, it is the focused participant. If it cannot, it is not:

Blay le do sotu kudà.
 Ø-give they me one horse

They gave me one horse.

Sotu kudà blay le do.
 one horse Ø-give they me

It was one horse they gave me.

There can be only one participant in focus in the sentence. Time and place are also participants in a sentence, but in Tboli these are never signalled by an affix on the verb.

Throughout this material, the term 'sentence' is used to mean simply a verb plus one or more of the basic participants: actor, object, goal or instrument.

8.1 Experiencer focus sentence (EFS)

The experiencer in Tboli is the one who experiences a certain state or condition. It always occurs immediately following the verb. The verb used in an EFS is a stative verb, describing the state or condition of the experiencer. In Tboli there is a wider range of words used as statives than is found in English. Verbs like 'sleep, bathe, lie down, rest, slip, fall', etc. are all included in this class.

Most of the stative verbs in a sentence where the experiencer is in focus will either have an affix from the *ne-* set (*ne-*, *n-*, *-en-* and *-n-*) or no affix at all. Only a few verbs will use an affix from the *me-* set (*me-*, *m-*, *-em-* and *-m-*). The affix signals that the role of the focused participant is experiencer. Examples of stative verbs plus the affixes used with them are given in the examples below:

Myake.
m-embarrass.I

I'm embarrassed.

Ningete.
n-perspire.I

I'm perspiring.

Denge bennget.
PT,I -en-beard

I have already let my beard grow.

Hnisa.
-n-boil-Ø

He has a boil.

Kinii
Ø-hot.you,SG

You are hot.

The only participant that is essential in an EFS is the experiencer, but goal, location and time may also occur.

8.1.1 Grammatical forms of experiencer

The experiencer may be a noun, a noun phrase or a pronoun.

(1) Noun as experiencer

A noun functioning as an experiencer may be either a common noun or a proper noun. It occurs immediately following the verb, as illustrated in the following examples:

Deng matù Mantil.
PT m-win Mantil

Mantil won.

Tungô Ngà Bun.
Ø-sleep Ngà Bun

Ngà Bun is sleeping.

Dmunuk él.
-m-flood river

The river is flooded.

Tódô sut kulón.
immediate Ø-arrive rain

The rain came immediately.

Tey ninget kwangu.
INT n-perspire back.my

My back is really perspiring.

Msut tlangas.
m-arrive grasshopper

The grasshoppers arrived.

(2) Noun phrase as experiencer

All four types of noun phrases (see sec. 6) may occur as an experiencer: (1) noun + possessive; (2) noun + plural markers; (3) noun + adjective; (4) noun + demonstrative;

Deng kól ditu kem dumu lefou.
PT Ø-arrive there PL other coconut.my

My other coconuts have already arrived there.

Tebel le Ting.
Ø-stay.behind PL Ting

Ting and his companions stayed behind.

Nù bè kililen ngà ówóng.
Ø-to.be LOC edge.its child boat

The little boat is by the shore (of the lake).

Tey hnali nim ohu ni.
INT -n-wound this dog this

This dog (already mentioned) is badly wounded.

Tey ninget yem kudà fóg.
INT n-perspire that horse brother.in.law

That horse of my brother-in-law is really perspiring.

In a longer sentence when other participants are involved, the noun phrase realizing the experiencer always occurs at the end of the sentence. However, a pronoun representing it occurs in the regular position for experiencer, which is following the verb:

Hlilil le bè seel kem ngà.
Ø-lie.down they LOC floor PL child

The children are lying on the floor.

Kól le bélê me kem tau dmadu.
Ø-arrive they PREP us,EX PL person -m-plow

The men who are to plow have arrived to us.

Using a pronoun in the regular experiencer position along with the noun phrase at the end of the sentence (as in the examples above) seems to be the preferred choice for many speakers. It often happens even when the experiencer is the only participant:

Bitil le ni kem ngà.
Ø-hungry they this PL child

These children are hungry.

Hl'g: le kem tau mehek.
Ø-happy they PL person m-plant.rice

The people who plant rice are happy.

(3) Pronoun as experiencer

Normally verbs with an affix from the *ne-* set or verbs with no affix at all use a pronoun from the nonfocused *-u* set for an actor. But with an EFS, the pronoun used for the experiencer is from the focused *-e* set. The use of this focused pronoun set for experiencer is the feature that distinguishes stative verbs from other verbs with the same affixation:

(a) Stative verbs

Ningete.
n-perspire.I

I'm perspiring.

Tungói ne.
Ø-sleep.you,SG now

You go to sleep now.

(b) Nonstative verbs

Nwitem twolihem.
n-bring.you,SG younger.sibling.your,SG

You bring your younger sibling with you.

Tonu lu koni.
 Ø-see.I them just.now

I saw them just now.

There are several classes of adverbs occurring before the stative verb (see sec. 3.2.1) that always attract the -e set of pronouns used as experiencer:

Gotu le likò kem dumu tau.
 all they Ø-afraid PL companion person

All the other people were afraid.

Elese tódò tungò diu kedeng.
 beforehand.I just Ø-sleep there by.and.by

I'll just plan ahead of time to sleep there.

Deng le kól yó kem lebeng.
 PT they Ø-arrive that PL Ø-bury

Those who buried (him) have already arrived.

There is another class of adverbs occurring before the verb (see sec. 3.2.1) which also attract the experiencer pronoun to themselves, but with these adverbs, the focused -e set is replaced with the nonfocused -u set:

Sónmoen hlígal dmóyón ke Dwata.
 always.he Ø-happy -m-praise NF God

He is always happy to praise God.

Tey lelu lehen.
 INT still.I Ø-thin

I'm still very thin.

There are certain sentence conjunctions which do the same, attracting the pronoun experiencer, then changing it from the focused -e set to the nonfocused -u set:

Igò me sem bitil, igò me
 while we,EX EMPH Ø-hungry while we,EX

While we were so hungry, at the same time we just hurried.

tódò heflóng.
 just hurry

Timbow me bük bè yó, omin me
 when we,EX Ø-get.up LOC there then we,EX
bud lemwót.
 again left

When we woke up at that place, then we again started out.

Ominu hlilil.
 then.I Ø-lic.down

Then I lay down.

Ominen hlós ebè gunù mnagi.
 then.he Ø-proceed DIR,LOC house m-study

Then he proceeded to the school.

Sendaw me nù bè yó.
 s-en-day we,EX Ø-to.be LOC there

One day we stayed there.

Sulék lé tehe gu dini le
 s-return they former Ø-from here PL

Once Fining and the others came here.

Fining.
 Fining

(4) Position of experiencer for contrast

Whenever an implied contrast with another person or thing is needed for clarification, the experiencer is shifted from its normal position following the verb to the position immediately preceding the verb. In this position the pronoun used as experiencer is from the focused *ou* set. The emphasis particle *se* may or may not occur following the experiencer:

Mantil se matù.

Mantil EMPH m-win

Mantil was the one who won.

biang koni.

I EMPH Ø-fall just.now

I'm the one who fell just now.

Du tolo tungô.

he/she/it still Ø-sleep

He/she/it is the one still sleeping.

(5) Position of experiencer for emphasis

Emphasis may be given to the experiencer used in its regular position following the verb by reiterating it at the end of the sentence. This is done by using either a pronoun from the nonfocused *dou* set or by using a proper name. The emphasis particle *se* may or may not occur just before the reiterated experiencer:

Mabù se kun.

m-fat-Ø EMPH him

He is fat as for him.

Tnawe dou.

Ø-cold.I me

I'm cold as for me.

Leheni se kóm.

Ø-thin.you EMPH you

You are thin as for you.

Because the reiteration is a nonfocused function, the nonfocus particle *ke* always occurs with the proper name:

Fen gna ebè gunù ke Lewadin.

ID Ø-ahead DIR,LOC house NF Lewadin

As for Lewadin, he was the first one to the house.

Dalang se ke Alun, likò.

same EMPH NF Alun Ø-afraid-Ø

It was the same with Alun, he was afraid.

When a plural experiencer is emphasized, and it is necessary to clarify the ones being spoken about by naming the individual, the plural particle *le* occurs with the person's name following the nonfocused pronoun used for an emphasisizer. In the following example the pronoun *kul* 'them' for emphasis is repeated twice:

Hlos le kul le Alun kul.

Ø-proceed they them PL Alun them

Alun and the others proceeded as for them.

8.1.2 Participants that are optional

There are three participants in an EFS that are optional as nonfocused participants: goal, location and time.

(1) Nonfocused goal

The goal is the one to whom the action is directed. It always occurs immediately following the experiencer in a sentence. It may be either a personal noun or a pronoun. If a personal noun occurs as goal, the location particle *bè* always occurs with it:

Kóle bè Mâ.

Ø-arrive.I LOC Father

I arrived **at/to** (the place of) Father.

Gefet me bè Libun Bong.

Ø-reach we,EX LOC woman big

We reached **at/to** (the place of) Big Woman.

Tungóe bè Mrs. Bargas.

Ø-sleep.I LOC Mrs. Bargas

I slept **at** (the place of) Mrs. Bargas.

Nù me bè le Yě Bong.

Ø-to.be we,EX LOC PL Mother Big

We live **at** (the place of) Big Mother and her companions.

Sidek bè Dwata yo.

Ø-bad-Ø LOC God that

That is bad **to** God.

If a pronoun occurs as goal, it is a pronoun from the *-u* set, and it always occurs with the preposition *bélê*. This preposition has a wide area of meaning. In English it would be expressed by 'to, for, with, among, from', etc.:

Tungô le bélê me.

Ø-sleep they PREP us,EX

They slept **with us/at** our house.

Ne lawa bélêu Wè Walan.

and Ø-visit-Ø PREP,me Friend Walan

And Friend Walan visited **me**.

Slób bélêu bè gunuhu mken

Ø-stop.by-Ø PREP,me LOC place.my m-food

He stopped **by to** (see) **me** at the place where I was eating young coconut.

agit.

young.coconut

Baling lli bélêen yem suk yó.

become taboo-Ø PREP,him that knife there

That knife (already mentioned) **becomes** taboo **for him**.

(2) Location (see sec. 10)

(3) Time (see sec. 11)

8.1.3 Display of an experiencer focus sentence

The display of an EFS (Figure 3) summarizes the relative position of the participants and their functions. The focused experiencer is the only obligatory participant. It must occur either following the verb or preceding it. It is optional whether or not it is reiterated at the end of the sentence for emphasis. Goal, location and time are optional participants.

Verb Affixation <i>ne-</i> , <i>Ø</i> , <i>me-</i>						
	-/+ Experiencer (contrast)	V e r b	+ Experiencer	+/- Goal	+/- Location, Time	+/- Experiencer (emphasis)
Noun	Ø		Ø	bè	bè/Ø	ke
Pronoun	ou		-e	bélè + -u	—	dou

Figure 3. Experiencer focus sentence

Ø = unmarked
 — = does not occur
 + = obligatory

* +/- = optional
 -/+ = if not in experiencer position following verb

8.2 Actor focus sentence (AFS)

The actor in Tboli is the one doing the action. A sentence where the actor is in focus will always have a verb with an affix from the *me-* set, either *me-*, *m-*, *-em-* or *-m-*.

An AFS and an EFS are almost identical as far as participants in a sentence are concerned. The only difference between the two is that in an AFS a nonfocused object may occur. It cannot in an EFS.

An experiencer and an actor are identical except that they have different functions. Whereas the experiencer is the one who experiences whatever is expressed in the stative verb, the actor is the one doing the action expressed in a nonstative verb. Just as the *-e* set of pronouns is used for experiencer, so it is used for actor. Just as the pronoun experiencer is attracted to certain modifiers in preverb position, so it is with the pronoun actor. As the experiencer can be placed before the verb for contrast or at the end of the sentence for emphasis, so it is with the actor. Just as the goal is an optional participant in EFS, so it is in AFS. There is only one new participant to be learned in an AFS, that is the optional nonfocused object.

Examples of the verb affixation which indicate that the focused participant is an actor are given below:

Mken Linda.
m-food Linda

Linda is eating.

Bemlihe sedinas.
-em-buy.I sardines

I bought sardines.

Ne tmiba Mâ.
and -m-ricefield Father

And Father made a ricefield.

8.2.1 Grammatical forms of actor

The actor may be a noun, a noun phrase or a pronoun.

(1) Noun as actor

A noun functioning as actor may be either a person or an indefinite thing. It is unmarked, but its position following the verb determines its role:

Deng myehen Alun.
PT m-spouse Alun

Alun has already married.

Tey mbak ohu.
INT m-bark dog

Some dog is really barking.

Deng gotu matay silau.

PT all m-die corn.my

All my corn has died.

(2) Noun phrase as actor

A noun phrase functioning as an actor is identical to a noun phrase functioning as an experiencer. It may be a noun with a possessive, a plural marker, a descriptive or a demonstrative.

(a) With the plural markers *kem* and *le*

Mensag kem logi.

m-shout PL male

The men shouted.

Mnagi kem dumuhu.

m-study PL companion.my

My companions are studying.

Mken le Yē Udi.

m-food PL Mother Little

Little Mother and her companions are eating.

(b) With a demonstrative from the *nim* set

Botong mkik nim yehenu.

to.the.extent m-cry this spouse.my

My wife felt so badly she cried.

Tey mbak yem ohu Min.

INT m-bark that dog Min

Min's dog really barks.

(c) With a descriptive phrase

Bud mnagi Fóg Udi.

again m-study Brother.in.law Little

Little Brother-in-law is studying again.

Ne mbel tey lenos bong.

and m-come.up INT wind big

And a very strong wind came up.

The noun phrase as actor always occurs at the end of an AFS whenever either an object or a goal are included. At the same time a pronoun representing the actor also occurs in the regular position for actor following the verb:

Smakay le ówóng yó kem ngà.

-m-ride they airplane that PL child

The children rode in the airplane.

Ma le koyu kem dumu.

m-fetch they wood PL companion

The others are fetching wood.

(3) Pronoun as actor

When the actor is represented by a pronoun, the focused *-e* set is used,⁵ and it occurs in the regular actor position following the verb:

⁵ The only exception to this rule is the word *mon* 'said'. It always takes the nonfocused *-u* set of pronouns for an actor.

Tmonok le.
-m-ground they

They walked.

Mbele sotu lata halay.
m-look.for.I one can unhulled.rice.

I'm looking for one can of unhulled rice.

Mógów me bè Hlilan.
m-go we,EX LOC Hlilan

We are going to Hlilan.

Ne monu mò ke Alun,
and m-said.I PREP NF Alun

And I said to Alun,

Ne monen mò do,
and m-said.he PREP me

And he said to me,

There are several classes of adverbs occurring before the verb that always attract the *-e* set of pronouns used as actor (see sec. 3.2.1):

Deng le ma koyu kem dumu.
PT they m-fetch wood PL companion

The others already fetched some wood.

Tolo le mken le Yè Udi.
still they m-eat PL Mother Little

Little Mother and her companions are still eating.

Móyón le muta kem Tboli.
almost they m-harvest PL Tboli

Tboli are almost ready to harvest.

Tóe dmadu dlem.
would.like.I -m-plow nearby.below

I would like to plow (in the area) down below.

There are other classes of adverbs occurring before the verb which also attract the actor pronoun, but with these modifiers, the focused *-e* set pronoun is replaced with the non-focused *-u* set:

Sónmoen temngel do yem tau bong.
always.he -em-look.at me that person big

That big person was always looking at me.

Olon hmowon kum yem Bang.
only.he -m-tease us,EX that Bang

Bang only teased us.

Lelen smulat bè mekina.
keep.on.he -m-write LOC machine

He kept on writing on the typewriter.

Ket kiwólen mukét du tfung halien.
each repeat.he m-peel it scab sore.his

He repeatedly kept peeling the scab off his sore.

Ke suléken kemlo, là snukay le du.
if s-return.he -em-weed NEG -n-pay they him

If he weeds only once, they do not pay him.

There are certain sentence conjunctions which do the same, attracting the pronoun actor, then changing it from the focused *-e* set to the nonfocused *-u* set:

Ominu lemolo yem el boluyen Kling.
 then.I -em-follow that river name.it Kling

Then I followed the river called Kling.

Omin le hemken kum.
 then they h-em-food us,EX

Then they fed us.

Igou tolo mken yem agit, tódó
 while.I still m-food that young.coconut just
tonu gu bwak.
 β-see.I from lower.area

While I was still eating young coconut,
 I immediately saw (him) coming from
 below.

Unihen lemwót, unihen mton du.
 immediate.he -em-leave immediate.he m-see it

As soon as he left, immediately he saw
 it.

(4) Position of actor for contrast

As in EFS, whenever a contrast is needed with another person or thing for clarification, the actor is shifted from its normal position following the verb to the position immediately preceding the verb. In this position the pronoun used as actor is from the focused *ow* set. The emphasis particle *se* may or may not occur following the actor:

Lu se tmaqok.
 they EMPH -m-ground

They were the ones who walked.

Dwata semgyok kuy dyó.
 God -em-take.care.of you,PL. there

God is the one to take care of all of
 you there.

Yadan bud tles semgyok ke Obun.
 Yadan again β-exchange -em-take.care.of NF Dove

Yadan is the one again taking his turn
 to take care of Dove.

(5) Position of actor for emphasis

The actor, like the experiencer, is often emphasized by reiterating it at the end of a sentence. This is done by using either a pronoun from the nonfocused *dou* set or by using a proper name with the nonfocus particle *ke*. The emphasis particle *se* may or may not occur just before the pronoun:

Munge dou.
 m-go.along.I me

I'm going along as for me.

Mung Linda se kun.
 m-go.along Linda EMPH her

Linda is going along as for her.

Tmondo Ibiid se kun.
 -m-deceive-β Ibiid EMPH him

He deceived Ibiid as for him.

Fen mfas lefó ke Lewadin.
 ID m-cut.grass coconut NF Lewadin

As for Lewadin, he cut grass (under)
 the coconut (palms).

Tolo kemgis imiba ke Témê.
 still.he -em-strong -m-ricefield NF Grandfather

As for Grandfather, he is still strong to
 make a ricefield.

8.2.2 Participants that are optional

There are four other participants that may occur in an AFS as nonfocused participants: object, goal, location and time.

8.2.2.1 Nonfocused object

An object may be either a person or thing directly involved in the action of the verb, very often something is done to it. It always occurs immediately following the actor except when a goal is included in the sentence. Then the goal takes the position following the actor, and the object follows the goal. The object may be a noun, a noun phrase or a pronoun.

(1) Noun as nonfocused object

A noun functioning as an object may be either a person or an indefinite noun. If the object is a person, the nonfocus particle *ke* occurs before the person's name:

Ne omin le tmudà ke Was.
and then they -m-throw NF Monkey

And then they threw **Monkey** out.

Ou tmóbóng ke Mà haya.
I -m-help NF Father tomorrow

I'll be the one to help **Father** tomorrow.

If the noun is a thing, only an indefinite noun is used, and it always implies that only a part of the whole of whatever is named is intended. It is unmarked, but its role is determined by its position in the sentence:⁶

Mangayi kut él.
m-fetch.you us.two(polite) water

Please fetch **some water** for us.

Bemli le lemaw bè fedyan.
-em-buy they vegetable LOC market

They bought **some vegetables** in the market.

Deng le ma koyu kem dumu.
prou they m-get tree PL companion

The others fetched **some wood**.

(2) Noun phrase as nonfocused object

(a) With the plural marker kem

Móyóe tmóbóng kem dumuw.
m-want.I -m-help PL companion.my

I want to help **my companions**.

Ou gel mtem yó kem klatas
I always m-burn that PL paper

I am the one to burn **all the paper** she always wastes.

gel namaen.
always n-waste.she

(b) With a demonstrative from the nim set

Tódó me sbalu semgyok yem safi.
just we,EX β-take.turns -em-care.for that steer

We just take turns taking care of the **steer**.

⁶ In the following three examples, if a verb from the OFS is used with an affix from the *ne-* set, it means they will get all the water in the spring, all the vegetables in the market and all the wood in the forest, not just **some** of it.

Omin le mtem yem gunà.
then they m-burn that house

And then they burn the house.

(c) With a descriptive phrase

Mulu le xfu soging.
m-plant they shoot banana

They planted shoots of the banana.

Ominen milot sudengen labi.
then.he m-draw.out sword.his very.old

Then he drew out his very old sword.

(d) Reiteration of a specific object with *du* 'he/she/it',

Whenever the actor occurs before the verb in the contrast position, a specific object marked with a demonstrative from the *nim* set is reiterated by using the pronoun *du* 'he/she/it' which occurs immediately preceding the object:

Uu tmiba du yem numa yó.
you -m-ricefield it that forest that

You be the one to make a field of that forest.

O semning du yem filak.
I -em-pocket it that money

I'm the one to pocket the money.

Reiterating the object with the pronoun *du* 'it' may also occur whenever the actor has been attracted from its normal position following the verb to an adverb or a sentence conjunction occurring before the verb:

Ket kifuhu mungol du yem tutul Dwata.
each night.I m-hear it that story God

Each night I hear the story of God.

Sónmoen tendo malak du yem ngà.
always.she continue m-lead it that child

She is always leading that child.

Loe mulu du dê kay lemnaw.
would.like.I m-plant it many kinds vegetable

I would like to plant many kinds of vegetables.

Omin le hmunges du kumà.
then they -m-wrapper it blanket

Then they wrap it up in a blanket.

Ket kiwólen mukét du tefung halien.
each repeat.he m-peel it scab sore.his

He repeatedly kept peeling the scab off his sore.

(3) Pronoun as nonfocused object

When a pronoun is used as the nonfocused object, it is always a pronoun from the non-focused *dou* set. When this occurs, the actor of the sentence is found either before the verb or in sentence final position when it is a noun phrase:

Dwata semgyok kuy dyó.
God -em-take.care.of you,PL there

God will be the one to take care of all of you there.

Du tمولوك do.
he/she -m-teach me

He will be the one to teach me.

Olon hmowon kum yem Bang.
only.he -m-tease us,EX that Bang

He only teased us, that *Bang*.

Sónmou tendo hemdem kóm.
always.I continue -em-think you,SG

I'm always continually thinking of you.

Omin le hemken kum.
then they h-em-food us,EX

Then they fed us.

8.2.2.2 Nonfocused goal

A participant functioning as a nonfocused goal may also occur in an AFS. As in the EFS, the goal is the one to whom the action is directed, and it always occurs immediately following the actor. It may be either a personal noun or a pronoun.

(1) Personal noun as nonfocused goal

Since goal is a nonfocused participant, the nonfocus particle *ke* occurs along with the personal noun. The location marker *bè* may also be used to indicate the goal:

Munge ke Adil.
m-go.along.with.I NF Adil

I'll go along with *Adil*.

Klifótu hemwit du ke Fludi yem filak.
Ø-forget.I -em-send it NF Fludi that money

I forgot to send the money with *Fludi*.

Miti bè Bé soring haya.
m-bring.you,SG LOC Grandmother banana tomorrow

Bring some bananas for **Grandmother** tomorrow.

Yake hemyuhi bè Yē sfolò filak.
good.if -em-good.you,SG LOC Mother ten pesos

Good if you put away for **Mother** ten pesos.

(2) Noun phrase as nonfocused goal

Whenever the goal is a long noun phrase, it shifts from the regular goal position following the actor to the end of the sentence. It occurs with the location marker *bè*:

Yake hemyuhi filak bè kem ngà
good.if -em-good.you,SG money LOC PL child
mnagi.
m-study

Good if you put away money for the children who are studying.

Miti soring bè le Yē Udi.
m-bring.you,SG banana LOC PL Mother Little

Bring bananas for **Little Mother** and her companions.

(3) Pronoun as nonfocused goal

As in the EFS, when a pronoun is used as goal, a pronoun from the *-u* set may be used along with the preposition *bélé*. The many examples given are intended to show the wide range of meaning this preposition has in Tboli:

Tô hembalù bélé klembew.
would.like-Ø -em-sell PREP,me carabao

He would like to sell **me** a carabao.

Gel semfala du bélê me yem tutul Dwata.
always-Ø -em-read it PREP us,EX that story God

She always read to us a story about God.

Du gna matay bélê le.
he/she/it first m-die PREP them

He was the first one among them to die.

Là móyóe mdóm bélê le.
NEG m-like.I m-borrow PREP them

I don't like to borrow from them.

Mkene bélê le.
m-food.I PREP them

I ate with them.

Myake bélê ye.
m-shame.I PREP you,PL

I'm ashamed to you.

But there is also a difference between EFS and AFS in what may be used as goal. In EFS, only a pronoun from the *-u* set with *bélê* can be used. In AFS, a pronoun from the *dou* set may also be used. When the *dou* set is used, its meaning seems to be limited to either beneficiary or recipient rather than directional. Usually an object occurs along with it, either stated or clearly understood:

Yake hemyuhi do sfofò filak.
good.if -em-good.you,SG me ten peso

Good if you put away ten pesos for me.

Miti do soging haya.
m-bring.you,SG me banana tomorrow

Bring some bananas for me tomorrow.

Dwata bemlay kuy ketngón.
God -em-give you,PL wisdom

God gives you wisdom.

Yê hlun tmóbóng do yem tlu latu.
Mother temporary -m-help me that three hundred

Mother lent me temporarily three hundred (pesos).

Whenever the pronoun 'him/her/its' occurs as goal, the pronoun *du* from the focused *ou* set is used instead of *kun* from the *dou* set:

Dwata bemlay du ketngón.
God -em-give him wisdom

God gives him wisdom.

Yê hlun tmóbóng du yem tlu latu.
Mother temporary -m-help him that three hundred

Mother lent him temporarily three hundred (pesos).

Using *du* as goal can become confusing when in the same sentence it is also used as object. But the regular order of participants is that the *du* used as object always precedes the one used as goal:

Ne omin le tmulón du do.
and then they -m-tell it me

And then they told it to me.

Deng dô tmulón du kóm Yê Lomi.
PT maybe -m-tell it you Mother New

Maybe New Mother has already told you about it.

Ne ominu bud tmlók du du yem liholen.
and then.I again -m-teach it him that tune.it

And then I again taught him the tune.

There are a few instances where a pronoun from the *dou* set can be used interchangeably with the preposition *bélé* for the goal without any apparent change of meaning:

Holi mni do.
INT,you,SG m-pray me

Really pray for me.

Holi mni béléu.
INT,you m-pray PREP,me

Really pray for me.

Géhéli bud smulat do.
quick.you,SG again -m-letter me

Quickly write to me again.

Géhéli bud smulat béléu.
quick.you,SG again -m-letter PREP,me

Quickly write to me again.

Mungi dou mool.
m-accompany.you,SG me lower.area

Accompany me to the lower area.

Mungi béléu mool.
m-accompany.you,SG PREP,me lower.area

Accompany me to the lower area.

8.2.2.3 Location (see sec. 10)

8.2.2.4 Time (see sec. 11)

8.2.3 Display of an actor focus sentence

The display of an AFS (Figure 4) is divided into two sections. The top section summarizes the relative positions of the participants in an AFS and their status, i.e., whether they are obligatory in the sentence or optional.

In order to show more easily the possible positions of the focused actor in relation to the other participants, the various positions are charted on separate lines: (1) normal position following verb (including the position used for a long noun phrase (NP) as actor); (2) preverb contrast position; and (3) a preverb position when a pronoun actor is attracted to an adverb modifying the verb.

The lower section shows the grammatical forms used to indicate the functions of the various participants.

Verb Affixation <i>me-</i>								
	Actor (Contrast)	V e r b	Actor	Goal	Object	Actor (NP)	Location/ Time	Actor (Emph).
Normal	—		+	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-
Contrast	+		—	+/-	+/-*	—	+/-	—
Attracted to Adverb	+		—	+/-	+/-*	+/-	+/-	+/-
Noun	Ø	V e r b	Ø	<i>ke</i> <i>bè</i>	<i>ke</i>	Ø	<i>bè</i> Ø	<i>ke</i>
Pronoun	<i>ou</i>		<i>e</i>	<i>bélê</i> + <i>-u</i> <i>dou</i>	<i>dou</i>	—	—	<i>dou</i>

Figure 4. Actor focus sentence

*Whenever the actor occurs in preverb position, and a specific object marked with a demonstrative from the *nim* set is being spoken about, the pronoun *du* 'it' always occurs immediately before the object.

Ø = unmarked
— = does not occur

+ = obligatory
+/- = optional

8.3 Object focus sentence (OFS)

In the introduction to this chapter on the focus system, it was mentioned that the five sentence types could be divided into two groups based on their similarities. Experiencer and actor focus make up one group; object, goal and instrument focus make up the second group. Since an OFS is used far more frequently than either the goal or instrument focus, it will be considered first.

The object in Tboli may be either a person or a thing directly involved in the action. Very often something is done to it. A focused object will always be a particular, specific object, not an indefinite one as in AFS (see sec. 8.2.2).

Obligatory participants in an OFS are actor and object. When these two are the only participants in the sentence the order is verb, actor, object. When a nonfocused goal is included the order is verb, actor, goal, object. Time or location may occur at the end of a sentence.

A sentence where the object is in focus will either have a verb with an affix from the *ne-* set (*ne-*, *n-*, *-en-* and *-n-*) or no affix at all. Examples of these are given below:

Nangayem kudà.
n-fetch.you,SG horse

Fetch the horse.

Benosen kuluhen tum sowu.
-en-hide.it head.its that boa.constrictor

The boa constrictor hid its head.

Knoduhu lu.
-n-pity.I them

I pity them.

Gotu ton me lu.
all Ø-see we,EX them

We saw them all.

Eteden uu ditu ta.
Ø-deliver.it you,SG there up

It delivers you there to the top.

8.3.1 Actor as nonfocused obligatory participant

The actor is one of the obligatory participants in an OFS, but it is not in focus. It may be an unmarked noun, a noun phrase or a pronoun from the nonfocused -u set (see sec. 4.2.1). In the examples that follow, the focused object will be bold print. But the purpose of the examples is to show how the nonfocused actor is used in an OFS.

(1) Noun as nonfocused actor

As with the EFS and AFS, the noun functioning as actor may be either a proper noun or a common one, and it occurs in the regular position following the verb:

Nwit Mâ mi. Father brought **us** along.
n-bring Father **us**,EX

Ton Gadu yem ulal. Gadu saw the **snake**.
Ø-see Gadu that **snake**

Nbak ohu yem ulal. The dog barked at the **snake**.
n-bark dog that **snake**

(2) Noun phrase as nonfocused actor

As in both EFS and AFS, all four types of noun phrases may function as an actor: (1) noun + possessive; (2) noun + plural markers; (3) noun + adjective; and (4) noun + demonstrative. Examples of all four types are given below:

Gel nmò kem Tboli nim nii. Tboli always make **this (specific thing)**.
always n-make PL. Tboli **this this**,SP

Deng tenles le Yê Bong yem kdaw Big Mother and her companions
PT -en-change PL Mother Big that day changed **the day** for our studying.
mò knagi me.
for k-study our,EX

Hnebel yem maen yem libun leged. His father looks for an **industrious girl**.
-n-look.for that father.his that girl **industrious**

Fen nwit yem logi yem kimu. The man is the one to bring along the
ID n-bring that man that **property** **property**.

(3) Pronoun as nonfocused actor

The pronoun set used as actor in OFS differs from the pronoun set used as actor in EFS and AFS. Since the actor is now a nonfocused participant, a pronoun from the nonfocused -u set is used:

Naba le tniba. They are clearing **the ricefield**.
n-clear they -n-ricefield

Tonen yem ulal. He saw **the snake**.
Ø-see.he that **snake**

Gel nwiu kudà bè ni.
always n-bring.I horse LOC here

I always bring the horse here.

Ndekem yem silà.
n-pound.you,SG that corn

You pound the corn.

The conjunction *na/na a*, sometimes written *ne/ne e* is often used in OFS. It always occurs immediately before the verb, and it indicates that the action of the verb is the first in a series of activities. It attracts the pronoun actor from its normal position following the verb:

New e nangay kudà.
first.I ? n-fetch horse

First I'll fetch the horse.

Nen e nauy yem tau dumuhen.
first.he ? n-visit that person companion.his

First he will visit his companion.

Ne me e henebel le Mà.
first we,EX ? -en-look.for PL Father

First we looked for Father and the rest of the family.

There is a variation of this modifier that seems to mean the same thing, *ne ne/na na*:

Bnogulem sen, okóm nem ne hewót o. Beat it indeed, but first let me leave.
-n-beat.you,SG EMPH but first.you,SG ? h-leave me

Nam na hnifót o.
first.you,SG ? -n-forget me

First forgive me.

Naw na tnagak lu.
first.I ? -n-leave them

First I will leave them.

8.3.2 Grammatical forms of focused object

(1) Noun as object

The noun used as a focused object is always a particular, specific object. It is unmarked, but its role is determined by its position in the sentence following the actor:

Nangayem kudà.
n-fetch.you,SG horse

Fetch the horse.

Nmò le fēten.
n-make they rope/tie.his

They made a rope (for tying him).

Niten asayen.
n-bring.he ax.his

He brought along his ax.

Nogotu snafung.
n-hold.I gun

I held the gun.

A proper name used as the focused object is also unmarked:

Tnaba le Fun Bulul.
-n-call they Owner Mountain

They call the Owner of the Mountain.

Tonu Séng.
 Ø-scc.I Seng

I saw *Seng*.

Bud snukatu Yè.
 again -n-deceive.I Mother

Again I deceived Mother.

(2) Noun phrase as object

Just as all four types of noun phrases may be used as actor in an OFS, so all four types may also function as the focused object:

Tnóbóngem kem dumum.
 -n-help.you,SG PL companion.your,SG

You help your companions.

Gotu bnoluy Lewadin kem fayen.
 all -n-name Lewadin PL sister.in.law.his

Lewadin called all his sisters-in-law by (their) names.

Nauy tekuy kem benwu etu.
 n-visit we,IN PL country DIR,there

Let's all visit those countries over there.

Nbal le yó kem fun gunù.
 n-ask.permission they that PL owner house

They asked permission from the owners of the house.

Ndómu yem bew tuónu.
 n-borrow.I that carabao father.in.law.my

I borrowed the carabao of my father-in-law.

Nauy le tum ngà libun.
 n-visit they that child female

They visit the young woman.

Ndek le yem silà.
 n-pound they that corn

They pounded the corn.

Haya nwitu woli Bedung.
 tomorrow n-bring.I older.brother Bedung

Tomorrow I'll bring with me (my) older brother *Bedung*.

Tódô tonu Mà Bong.
 just Ø-scc.I Father Big

I just saw Big Father.

(3) Pronoun as object

Since the object is the focused participant in an OFS, a pronoun from the focused *ou* set is used:

Bnogulen lu.
 n-club.he them

He beat them.

Eteden uu ta.
 Ø-deliver.it you,SG up

It delivers you to the top.

Nali le o.
 n-keep.for.oneself they me

They kept me (back) for themselves.

Nwit le mi.
n-bring they us,EX

They brought us along.

When the pronoun used as object refers to a thing, it would be expected that the pronoun *du* 'he/she/it' would be used, but it never is. It is left implied, as can be seen in the following examples:

Gotu ken sit ne sdô ne ungé.
all Ø-eat ricebird and pig and rat

The ricebirds and pigs and rats ate (it) all.

Ne fen nwa yô kem tuônen.
and ID n-take that PL parent.in.law.his

And his parents-in-law are the ones to take (it).

Hendem le Yê Lomi.
-en-think PL Mother New

New Mother and her companions are thinking about (it).

(4) Position of object for contrast

As in EFS and AFS, the focused participant may occur in the position before the verb for contrast if necessary.

(a) Noun as object in contrast position

Kudà nangay le.
horse n-fetch they

It is a horse they are fetching (not a carabao).

Soging ne ubi tnógó le.
banana and sweet.potato -n-cook they

It was bananas and sweet potatoes they cooked (not rice).

(b) Noun phrase as object in contrast position

Tey dê tau nékétén.
INT many person n-bite.he

He has bitten very many people.

Nem latu filak nwitu.
six hundred peso n-bring.I

It was six hundred pesos I brought along.

Tey sdô bong nbô Mà.
INT pig big n-carry.on.back Father

It was a very big pig Father carried on his back.

(c) Pronoun as object in contrast position

Ou gna bekesem.
I first Ø-tie.up.you,SG

I'll be the one you tie up first.

Ne du ne lotou ni kmoen ni.
and he now Ø-follow.I this time.it now

And he is the one I follow at this time.

Lu tnabahen.
they -n-call.he

They are the ones he called.

(5) Position of object for emphasis

As in EFS and AFS, emphasis may be given to the focused participant by reiterating it at the end of the sentence by using a pronoun from the nonfocused *dou* set. But this is not done as frequently in OFS as in EFS or AFS:

Tnóbóngem se o dou.
-n-help.you,SG EMPH me me

You help me as for me.

Tnobong tekuy se lu kul.
-n-help we,IN EMPH them them

Let's all help them as for them.

8.3.3 Participants that are optional

There are three other participants that may occur in an OFS as nonfocused participants: goal, location and time.

8.3.3.1 Nonfocused goal

As in AFS, the participant functioning as goal in an OFS is the one to whom the action is directed, either a recipient of the action or a beneficiary of it. It may be a personal noun with the nonfocus particle *ke*, a noun phrase, a nonfocused pronoun from the *-u* set used with *bélé* or a nonfocused pronoun from the *dou* set used alone.

(1) Personal noun as nonfocused goal

Tólóng blayen ke fôgen.
different Ø-give.he NF brother.in.law.his

He gave h's brother-in-law a different one.

Sotu kudà blay le ke Min.
one horse Ø-give they NF Min

They gave one horse to Min.

Hesegyoku ke Kasi yem bew logi.
he care.for.I NF Kasi that carabao male

I'll let Kasi take care of the male carabao.

Tulónem ke yehen Fining.
Ø-tell.you,SG NF spouse Fining

Tell (it) to the husband of Fining.

(2) Noun phrase as nonfocused goal

As in AFS, when a rather long noun phrase is used as goal, it occurs with the location marker *bé* and shifts to the location position at the end of the sentence:

Tódô blay le yem kudà bè tu kem
just Ø-give they that horse LOC there PL

They just gave the horse to those other people.

dumu tau.
companion person

(3) Pronoun as nonfocused goal

Just as in the AFS, the nonfocused goal may be indicated by either a pronoun from the *-u* set used with the preposition *bélê* or a pronoun from the *dou* set.

(a) The *-u* set with *bélê*

Bnayadu bélên msó.
-n-pay.I PREP,him hulled.rice

I paid **him** for the hulled rice.

Benli le bélêu afus.
-en-buy they PREP,me bamboo

They bought bamboo **from me**.

Ali dê snólók le bélêu.
INT many -n-ask they PREP,me

They asked **me** about so many things.

Hendón le bélê ye hnolo.
-en-expect they PREP you,PL hair.oil

They are expecting hair oil **from you**.

(b) The *dou* set

Lomi blay le do.
recent Ø-give they **me**

They recently gave (it) **to me**.

Hnungesem kum mò bnotu me.
-n-wrapper.you,SG us,EX for n-stone our,EX

Wrap it up **for us** for our lunch.

Kenlo Yê dè
-en-weeding.tool Mother **me**
lamihu.
field.my

Mother weeded my newly planted field **for me**.

8.3.3.2 Location (see sec. 10)

8.3.3.3 Time (see sec. 11)

8.3.4 Display of an object focus sentence

The display of an OFS (Figure 5) is divided into two sections. The top section summarizes the relative positions of the participants in an OFS and their status, i.e., whether they are obligatory in the sentence or optional. In order to show more easily the possible positions of the focused object participant in relation to the other participants, they have been displayed on two separate lines, normal position and preverb contrast position.

The lower section shows the grammatical forms used to indicate the functions of the various participants.

Verb Affixation <i>ne-Ø</i>							
	Object (Contrast)	V e r b	Actor	Goal	Object	Location, Time	Object (Emphasis)
Normal	—		+	+/-	+	+/-	+/-
Contrast	+		+	+/-	—	+/-	—
Noun	Ø		Ø	<i>ke, bē</i>	Ø	<i>bē/Ø</i>	<i>ke</i>
Pronoun	<i>ou</i>		-u	<i>bēlē + -u</i> <i>dou</i>	<i>ou</i>	—	<i>dou</i>

Figure 5. Object focus sentence

Ø	= unmarked	+	= obligatory
—	= does not occur	+/-	= optional

8.4 Goal focus sentence (GFS)

The goal in Tboli is the participant to whom the action is directed. In English this would be an indirect object. The goal always occurs immediately following the actor.

There are two nonfocused participants that are also obligatory in a GFS: actor and object. Actor occurs in the regular actor position following the verb, the object occurs immediately following the goal. A sentence where the goal is in focus will have a verb with an affix from the *ne-* set, either *ne-*, *n-*, *-en-* or *-n-*.

A GFS is very similar to the OFS. One noticeable difference is that relatively few verbs can be used in a GFS, whereas almost all the verbs in the language can be used in an OFS. Verbs in both sentence types are affixed with *ne-*, but certain OFS verbs occur unaffixed as well. Both sentence types use the nonfocused *-u* set of pronouns for actor, and the *ou* set for the focused participant. Both use unmarked nouns for actor or object. In a GFS, the goal is always a person, the object is always a thing.

There are two other nonfocused participants in a GFS that are optional: location and time. Examples of the verb affixation which indicates that the focused participant is a goal are given in the examples below:

<i>Nkay le o bigu.</i> n-serve.food they me winnowing.tray	They served food to me on a winnowing tray.
<i>Benlay le mi klatas.</i> -en-give they us paper	They gave paper to us.
<i>Hnogot ye o klembew ne dadu.</i> h-n-hold you,PL me carabao and plow	Give to me the responsibility of a carabao and a plow.

8.4.1 Nonfocused obligatory participants

There are two nonfocused obligatory participants in a GFS, the actor and the object. The actor is like an actor in an OFS in that it may be an unmarked noun, a noun phrase or a pronoun from the nonfocused *-u* set.

The object in a GFS differs from the object in a OFS in that it is always a thing, i.e., a common noun or a noun phrase. It is never a personal noun or a pronoun. It occurs following the goal, and its role is determined by its position in the sentence. Examples of both the nonfocused actor and object can be seen in section 8.4.2.

8.4.2 Grammatical forms of focused goal

A noun functioning as a goal is always a person (a personal noun, a noun phrase or a pronoun). It occurs following the actor. Since it is in focus, it is unmarked. Its role is determined by its position in the sentence.

(1) Noun as goal

Since it is in focus, it is unmarked:

Benlay me Adù bulung hulô.
-en-give we,EX Adù medicine red

We gave Adù some red medicine.

(2) Noun phrase as goal

A noun phrase functioning as goal is the same as when a noun phrase is used in other focus types. It may be a noun plus a possessive, a plural marker, an adjective or a demonstrative:

Hol bnasahem kem tuha yem libun.
INT -n-give.gift.you,SG PL old that girl

You must really give gifts to the parents of the girl.

Benlay me le Adù bulung hulô.
-en-give we,EX PL Adù medicine red

We gave the red medicine to Adù and his companions.

Berlayen yem libun des blututen tising.
-en-give.she that woman sick stomach.her ring

She gave a ring to the woman with a stomachache.

Benlay le ket tau tonok.
-en-give they each person land

They gave land to each person.

Oguhen tum libun tum kun
β-hand.to.her that girl that his
namak.
n-betel.nut.quid

He hands his own quid of betel nut to the girl.

(3) Pronoun as goal

Since the goal is in focus, the pronoun used for it is from the focused *ou* set:

Neteden o kudà ekimel.
n-deliver.him me horse DIR,early.afternoon

He delivered a horse to me early yesterday afternoon.

Henwit ye mi soging ne bkadu.
h-en-send you,PL us,EX banana and avocado

Send some bananas and avocados to us.

Benlay Ben ou snafang.
-en-give Ben me gun

Ben gave a gun to me.

Ke wen dà sigi ye kut,
if there.is left brush your,PL us,DU(polite)

If you have any toothbrushes left, please send me one.

henwit ye o sotu.
h-en-send you,PL me one

(4) Position of goal for contrast

Since the goal is the focused participant, it may occur in preverb position for contrast if necessary:

Adù benlay me bulung hulô.
Adù -en-give we,EX medicine red

It was to Adù that we gave some red medicine.

Ket tau benlay le tonok.
each person -en-give they land

It was to each person that they gave land.

Kem tuha yem libun hol bnasahem.
PL old that girl INT -n-give.gift.you,SG

It is to the parents of the girl that you give gifts.

Ou henwit ye sigi.
me h-en-send you,PL brush

It is to me you send the toothbrush.

8.4.3 Participants that are optional

There are only two participants that are optional in a GFS, location and time.

(1) Location (see sec. 10)

(2) Time (see sec. 11)

8.4.4 Display of a goal focus sentence

The display of a GFS (Figure 6) summarizes the relative position of the participants and their functions. There are three obligatory participants, the focused goal, the nonfocused actor and the object. The goal occurs either following the actor or preceding the verb.

Verb Affixation <i>ne-</i>						
	-/+ Goal (Contrast)	V e r b	+ Actor	+ Goal	+ Object	+/- Location, Time
Noun	Ø		Ø	Ø	Ø	bè/Ø
Pronoun	ou		-u	ou	—	—

Figure 6. Goal focus sentence

Ø = unmarked

— = does not occur

+

+/- = optional

-/+ = if not in goal position following actor

8.5 Instrument focus sentence (IFS)

The instrument in Tboli is the thing used to carry out the action described by the verb. A sentence where the instrument is in focus will have an unaffixed verb:

Dkem du dek bong.
Ø-pound.you,SG it pestle big

Pound it with the big pestle.

Instrument focus is probably the least used focus in Tboli simply because in the common activities of daily life, the instrument used for these activities would be understood without having to name it. Only when the instrument is not the one ordinarily used would it be necessary to identify it in an IFS.

Even though this is the least used sentence type, there is in Tboli root words a great potential for instrument focus, since so many root words can be understood to mean either the instrument used to perform the action (i.e., as a noun) or the action itself when using the instrument (i.e., as a verb). The following are examples:

<i>dek</i>	'a pestle'
<i>dek</i>	'to pound with a pestle'
<i>klo</i>	'a weeding tool'
<i>klo</i>	'to weed using a weeding tool'
<i>bulung</i>	'medicine'
<i>bulung</i>	'to treat (someone) with medicine'
<i>éhék</i>	'a sharpening stone'
<i>éhék</i>	'to sharpen (something) by using a sharpening stone'
<i>kaf</i>	'a tie between the ankles used for climbing (a coconut palm)'
<i>kaf</i>	'to climb (a coconut palm) by using a tie between the ankles'
<i>ogot</i>	'that used to hold (something)'
<i>ogot</i>	'to hold (something) with (something)'

When these root words occur with an affix from the *ne-* set, they become verbs indicating object focus.

The participants that are obligatory in an IFS are actor, object and instrument. A goal never occurs in this type of sentence. Both location and time are optional.

8.5.1 Nonfocused obligatory participants

There are two nonfocused obligatory participants in an IFS: actor and object.

The actor is like the actor in both the OFS and the GFS in that it occurs in the regular actor position following the verb, and it may be a noun, a noun phrase or a pronoun from the nonfocused *-u* set (see sec. 4.2.1).

The object is the person or thing affected by the action, and it occurs immediately following the actor. It may be a noun, a noun phrase or a pronoun from the nonfocused *dou* set. (For the use of the focused pronoun *du* for the nonfocused 'him/her/its', see sec. 4.2.2.)

Since the object is not in focus, a personal noun used as object always occurs with the nonfocus particle *ke*. Other nouns are unmarked, but their role is determined by their position in the sentence.

8.5.2 Grammatical forms of focused instrument

The focused instrument may be either a common noun or a noun phrase. It is unmarked, but its role is determined by its position in the sentence following the object.

(1) Noun as instrument

Solokem du lunay.
Ø-light.you it sap.of.lunay.tree

Make a light from the sap of the lunay tree.

Ofok Walan du asay.
Ø-chop.down Walan it ax

Walan chopped it down with an ax.

Bogulen ke Mélé Botu dek.
Ø-club.he NF Mélé Botu pestle

He beat Mélé Botu with a pestle.

(2) Noun phrase as instrument

A noun phrase is used whenever the instrument is: (1) plural, i.e., a common noun marked by the plural marker *kem*; (2) a specific thing spoken of earlier in the immediate situation marked with *nim* set demonstrative; or (3) an unmarked descriptive phrase:

Dekem du dek bong.
 Ø-pound.you,SG it pestle big

Pound it with the big pestle.

Klohu du suk udi koni.
 Ø-weed.I it knife little just.now

I just now weeded it with the little knife.

Hbukem do bulung Yê.
 Ø-smoke.you,SG me medicine Mother

Smoke me with Mother's medicine.

Okol le yem lan kem fala benli le.
 Ø-dig they that road PL shovel -en-buy they

They dug out the road with shovels they bought.

Bulungu kóm yem bulung henyuhu.
 Ø-medicine.I you,SG that medicine -en-good.I

I'll treat you with the medicine I put away.

Ifuhem ke Ngà Bun kgal
 Ø-wipe.off.you,SG NF Ngà Bun blouse

Wipe off Ngà Bun with your worn out blouse.

bolokem.
 wear.out.your,SG

(3) Position of instrument for contrast

Since the instrument is in focus, it is the participant that may occur before the verb for contrast if necessary. When the instrument occurs in this preverb position, and a specific object marked with a *nim* set demonstrative is being spoken about, the pronoun *du* 'it' always occurs immediately before the object:

(a) Noun

Luos bkesem du yem gunù nmoem.
 rattan Ø-tie.you,SG it that house n-make.you

Use rattan to tie the house you're making.

Asay ofok Walan du.
 ax Ø-chop.down Walan it

It was with an ax that Walan chopped it down.

Lunay solokem du.
 sap.of.lunay.tree Ø-light.you,SG it

Use the sap of the lunay tree for a light.

(b) Noun phrase

Dek bong dekem du.
 pestle big Ø-pound.you,SG it

Use a big pestle to pound it.

Sotu filak bli May mambang.
 one peso Ø-buy May bread

May bought bread with one peso.

Snayà *Yē*
 -n-tubular.skirt mother

ebenem *du yem ngà.*
 Ø-carry.in.sling.you,SG it that child

Use Mother's tubular skirt for carrying the child.

8.5.3 Participants that are optional

There are only two participants that are optional in an IFS: location and time.

- (1) Location (see sec. 10)
- (2) Time (see sec. 11)

8.5.4 Display of an instrument focus sentence

The display of an IFS (Figure 7) summarizes the relative positions of the participants and their functions. The focused instrument is the obligatory participant. It must occur either following the object or preceding the verb. Actor and object are the nonfocused obligatory participants.

Verb Affixation Ø							
	-/+ Instrument (Contrast)	V e r b	+ Actor	+ Object	+ Instrument	+/- Object	+/- Location, Time
Noun	Ø		Ø	<i>ke</i>	Ø	Ø	<i>bè/Ø</i>
Pronoun	—		<i>-u</i>	<i>dou</i>	—	—	—

Figure 7. Instrument focus sentence

Ø	= unmarked	+/-	= optional
—	= does not occur	-/★	= if not in instrument position following object
+	= obligatory		

8.6 Summary of the focus system

The following contrastive charts show the distinctive features of each of the five types of focused sentences in Tboli.

8.6.1 Display of the distinctives of each focus type

Figure 8 summarizes all the possible participants in each of the five types of focus and the fixed order in which they occur in a sentence. Bold type indicates a focused participant.

Focused Participant	Contrast	Verb	Actor, Experiencer	Goal	Object	Instrument	Location, Time	Emphasis
Experiencer	x	<i>ne- ∅ me-</i>	x	x	—	—	x	x
Actor	x	<i>me-</i>	x	x	x	—	x	x
Goal	x	<i>ne-</i>	x	x	x	—	x	—
Object	x	<i>ne- ∅</i>	x	x	x	—	x	x
Instrument	x	<i>∅</i>	x	—	x	x	x	—

Figure 8. Participants and their order

x = occurs

— = never occurs

8.6.2 Display of pronouns as participants

The four pronoun sets in Tboli are divided into focused and nonfocused sets. Figure 9 summarizes which pronoun sets are used for the various participants in the five types of focus. Bold type indicates the pronoun used as a focused participant.

Focused Participants	Contrast	Verb	Actor	Goal	Object	Instrument	Location, Time	Emphasis
Experiencer	<i>ou</i>	<i>ne- ∅ me-</i>	<i>-e</i>	<i>bélê + -u</i>	—	—	x	<i>dou</i>
Actor	<i>ou</i>	<i>me-</i>	<i>-e</i>	<i>dou bélê + -u</i>	<i>dou</i>	—	x	<i>dou</i>
Goal	<i>ou</i>	<i>ne-</i>	<i>-u</i>	<i>ou</i>	—	—	x	—
Object	<i>ou</i>	<i>ne- ∅</i>	<i>-u</i>	<i>dou bélê + -u</i>	<i>ou</i>	—	x	<i>dou</i>
Instrument	x	<i>∅</i>	<i>-u</i>	—	<i>dou</i>	x	x	—

Figure 9. Pronouns as participants

x = occurs only as a noun
or a noun phrase

— = never occurs

8.6.3 Nouns as participants

When a noun or noun phrase occurs as a participant, it is word order that determines its role. The only participant marked by an overt particle is a personal name functioning as a nonfocused goal or object, which is marked by the nonfocus particle *ke*. In Figure 9 this particle plus a personal noun can occur wherever the nonfocused *dou* set of pronouns occurs. By substituting a pronoun for either a noun or a noun phrase, it can be determined which participant is in focus in any sentence.

9. Affixes

Tboli has very few affixes compared to most Philippine languages. They are *me-*, *ne-*, *he-*, *se-*, *ge-*, *ke-*, *e-*, *te-*, and *de-*. (For a review of the spelling of these affixes, see sec. 1.2.) These affixes may be divided into three classes, those that are derivational, those that are inflectional and those that function as both derivational and inflectional.

9.1 Derivational affixes

A derivational affix forms a new word with a new grammatical function when the affix is added to an already existing root word. This is seen when the English suffix 'ness' is added to the word 'happy', which is an adjective. The result is a new word 'happiness', which is a noun. So an adjective has become a noun by the addition of an affix.

There are only two affixes in Tboli that are strictly derivational: *ke-* and *te-*.

9.1.1 The *ke-* prefix

The *ke-* prefix may be added to a great many nouns, verbs or adjectives to form an action oriented noun. The new word formed by adding the prefix functions as a noun in a sentence, but there is a strong element of action in its actual meaning, making it similar to a verb:

(1) Nouns

<i>yehen</i>	'spouse'	<i>kyehen</i>	'marrying'
<i>kulón</i>	'rain'	<i>kkulón</i>	'raining'

(2) Verbs

<i>mógów</i>	'to go'	<i>kógów</i>	'going'
<i>mowil</i>	'to live'	<i>klowil</i>	'life'

(3) Adjectives

<i>kinì</i>	'hot'	<i>kkini</i>	'hotness'
<i>mayuk</i>	'far'	<i>klayuk</i>	'farness'

These derived nouns differ from a regular noun in that when it is used in a sentence it always occurs with a possessive pronoun (see sec. 2.2):

Tngónem ne kô yem deng kyehenu? Do you know about my being married?
know.you.SG now QU that PT k-spouse.my

Tey glayam kun klowil. His life has much suffering.
INT g-suffer his k-live

Tey ksidek nawahen tu. He feels very badly about that.
INT k-bad breath.his there

9.1.2 The *te-* prefix

A *te-* prefix is added to the adjective listed below to make a verb. (This is the only example of this to date.)

<i>gel</i>	'hard'	<i>tgel</i>	'to strengthen'
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Tgelu tuggedu mneged. I was strengthened going uphill by my
t-strong.I walking.stick.my m-go.uphill walking stick.

9.2 Inflectional affixes

An inflectional affix does not form a new word with a new grammatical function as does the derivational affix. With an inflectional affix on a verb, the verb stays a verb, but an additional element of meaning is added. For example, the English suffix 'ed' when added to the verb 'plant' changes it to 'planted'. The meaning of the verb stays the same, but the element of past tense has been added to it.

9.2.1 Inflectional affixes with location

There are five inflectional affixes in Tboli which have to do with location: *seN-*, *de-*, *te-*, *ke-* and *e-*.

(1) The *seN-* prefix

The *seN-* prefix adds the meaning of "being in the area adjacent to" a specified location, or "being compared with" a specific thing. It occurs with the following words describing a location:

<i>-lem</i>	'down/below'	<i>senlem</i>
<i>ta</i>	'up/above'	<i>senta</i>
<i>laan</i>	'under'	<i>snaan</i>
<i>leged</i>	'higher'	<i>seneged</i>
<i>bwak</i>	'lower'	<i>sembwak</i>
<i>subô</i>	'upstream'	<i>sñubô</i>
<i>mool</i>	'downstream'	<i>snool</i>
<i>tu</i>	'there'	<i>sentu</i>
<i>dini</i>	'here'	<i>sendini</i>

Ne le na sbung yô kem tau
then they first gather.together that PL person
mulu senta ke senlem ke
m-attend.wedding **sen-above** or **sen-below** or
seneged duhen sembwak yem gunù.
sen-higher or.it **sem-lower** that house

All the people going to the wedding first gather together in the area **above** the house or **below** it or **higher** than it or **lower** than it.

Tey klayuken sentu Datal Teblow.
INT k-far.its **sen-there** Datal Teblow

Its a long distance **beyond** (the place called) Datal Teblow.

Nù snaanu kbongen yem libun tu.
Ø-to.be sn-under.I k-big.her that girl there

That girl is **smaller** than I am.

(2) The *de-*, *te-* and *ke-* prefixes

The *de-*, *te-* and *ke-* prefixes only occur with the four location words that are used in relation to a higher or a lower level. *De-* adds the meaning of a distance relatively nearby, *te-* indicates one that is far distant, and *ke-* indicates a distance about halfway in between. *Ke-* is used only with *ta* 'up/above':

<i>-lem</i>	'down/below'	<i>leged</i>	'higher level'
<i>ta</i>	'up/above'	<i>bwak</i>	'lower level'
<i>dlem</i>	'nearby below'	<i>ilem</i>	'far below'
<i>dta</i>	'nearby up'	<i>tta</i>	'far up'
<i>dleged</i>	'nearby higher level'	<i>tleged</i>	'distant higher level'
<i>debwak</i>	'nearby lower level'	<i>tebwak</i>	'distant lower level'

Deng sut se Yê Tahà debwak.
PT Ø-arrive EMPH Mother Tall **de-lower**

And Tall Mother arrived in the lower area nearby.

Snólók me ditu, mon me, Mayuk
-n-ask we,EX there said we,EX far

We asked there, we said, Is it far to Maitum? And they said, It's in the far distant lower area.

Maitum? Mon le, Tebwak.
Maitum said they **te-lower**

Tódô mlóy gu ditu kta lem
immediate-Ø m-run from there **k-up** in
bulul.
mountain

Immediately he ran (down) from there midway up in the mountain.

(3) The *e-* prefix

The *e-* prefix adds the meaning of "direction or motion toward" a specified location. It may be prefixed to: (1) the location marker *bè* and the preposition *bélé*, (2) location words (see sec. 10.2) and (3) location substitutes (see sec. 5.3). The pronoun *du* may also substitute for a specific place:

Bude mógów ebè Afus.
again.I m-go DIR,LOC Afus

Again I went to Afus (name of a place).

Tey legen là smulate ebéléem.
INT long.time NEG -m-write.I DIR,PREP,you,SG

I haven't written to you for a very long time.

Là hyu kógówen etalak yem ngà ówóng.
NEG good k-go.its DIR,middle that little boat

It is not good for that little boat to go out into the middle (of the lake).

Bude mulék efatu bè Hitas.
again.I m-return DIR,other.side LOC Hitas

I'm returning again to the other side to Hitas.

Hgéhéli kut edini.
h-hurry.you,SG us,DU(polite) DIR,here

Please hurry to us here.

Ken me edyó he kedeng.
Ø-cat we,EX DIR,there yet later

We'll eat later (upon arriving) there.

Tódô mógów edu yem kifu.
immediate-Ø m-go DIR,it that night

Immediately he went to it that night.

When the *e-* prefix is used in combination with the three prefixes *de-*, *te-* and *ke-* indicating distance, the vowel of these prefixes is dropped. The combination of the two prefixes becomes *ed-*, *et-* and *ek-*:

Ne muléke edta lem bulul.
and m-return.I DIR,nearby.up in mountain

I'm returning up into the mountains nearby.

Muléke etlem dou.
m-return.I DIR,far.below as.for.me

I'm returning to (the area) far below as for me.

yó kem dumuhem eddoli
that Pl. companion.your DIR,nearby.other

'your other close relatives'

Bude mulék ekia.
again.I m-return DIR,up

Again I returned midway **up** (into the mountains).

The *e-* prefix occurs frequently on a verb that is used in combination with *gunù* 'place':

Gunum esolu de?
place.you DIR,face QU

Where are you going?

Lowig gunù le emeted kul.
field.house place they DIR,m-deliver them

It's to the field house **where** they deliver them.

If the place is identified by name, the *e-* prefix occurs on the name:

Bud mulék Mâ eDatal Teblów.
again m-return Father DIR,Datal Teblów

Again Father returned to **Datal** Teblów.

9.2.2 Inflectional affix with numbers

A *ge-* prefix may be added to the cardinal numbers (i.e., one, two, three, etc.) to change them to ordinals (i.e., first, second, third, etc.). The only exception is *sotu* 'one', whose ordinal is the word *tanay* 'first'. The ordinals always occur with a possessive pronoun:

limu 'five'
nem 'six'
syóm 'nine'
sfolò 'ten'

glimu 'fifth'
gnem 'sixth'
gesyóm 'ninth'
gesfolò 'tenth'

Deng bud gewu le dulék muta.
Pl again g-two they repeat harvest

It was the **second** time they harvested.

Mnóne bē bulón getluhen dun gfatē.
m-shine-3 LOC month ge-three.its or g-four.its

It shines during the **third** or **fourth** month.

9.3 Affixes functioning as both derivational and inflectional

There are five affixes that are used with both verbs and nouns: *me-*, *ne-*, *he-*, *se-* and *ge-*. When used with verbs, they are inflectional, adding a new element of meaning to the verb. When used with nouns or adjectives, they are derivational, changing the grammatical function of the root word.

9.3.1 The *me-* affix

A *me-* prefix may be added to certain nouns and verbs to form an adjective:

btes 'a measure'
bük 'to get up'
duk 'laziness'
kteng 'to pull'
nóng 'ray of light'

mebtes 'expensive'
mebtik 'quick'
mduk 'lazy'
mekteng 'direct'
mnóng 'shiny'

The *me-* prefix may be added to an adjective to form another adjective with similar meaning:

<i>lehen</i>	'thin'	<i>lemehen</i>	'slender'
<i>tahà</i>	'tall'	<i>tmahà</i>	'oblong'

The *me-* affix signals that the role of the focused participant in the sentence is either actor or experiencer. The affix is used with both verbs and nouns. When used with a noun, the noun becomes a verb.

(1) With verbs

<i>bli</i>	'buy'	<i>bemli</i>	'to buy'
<i>etcd</i>	'bring'	<i>meted</i>	'to deliver'
<i>kodu</i>	'pity'	<i>kmodu</i>	'to pity'

Bemlihe msó bè Bongu.
-em-buy.I hulled.rice LOC Bongu

I bought hulled rice at Bongu.

Wen se fen meted ken bélê le.
there.is EMPH ID m-bring food PREP them

There are those who bring food to them.

(2) With nouns

<i>benwu</i>	'country'	<i>menwu</i>	'to live in a country'
<i>ken</i>	'food'	<i>mken</i>	'to eat'
<i>klo</i>	'weeding tool'	<i>kemlo</i>	'to weed'
<i>tonok</i>	'ground'	<i>tmonok</i>	'to walk'

Hlôsi menwu dini ne.
ð-continue.you,SG m-live here now

You continue to live here now.

Sendaw ie kemlo.
one.day they -em-weeding.tool

They weeded all day.

Tehe me tódô tmonok.
previous we,EX just -m-ground

Previously we just walked.

9.3.2 The *ne-* affix

The *ne-* affix signals that the role of the focused participant in the sentence is either experiencer, object or goal. It is used with both verbs and nouns. When used with a noun, the noun becomes a verb.

(1) Experiencer focus

<i>hali</i>	'a wound'	<i>hnali</i>	'to be wounded'
<i>inget</i>	'perspiration'	<i>ninget</i>	'to perspire'
<i>lekef</i>	'a cold'	<i>lenekef</i>	'to have a cold'

Lenekef le kem ngà.
-en-have.cold they PL child

The children have colds.

Tey ninget kwangu lanu kemlo.

INT n-perspire back.my path.I -em-weeding.tool

My back is really perspiring because

I've been weeding.

(2) Object focus (The root words listed may be either a noun or a verb.)

angat 'wait'
bli 'buy'
kodu 'pity'
taba 'call'

nangat 'to wait for (someone/something)'
benli 'to buy (something)'
knodu 'to pity (someone/something)'
tnaba 'to call (someone)'

Tnabahen Yê.

n-call.she Mother

She called Mother.

Nangat me lu.

n-wait.for we,EX them

We are waiting for them.

(3) Goal focus

blay 'give'
eted 'bring'

benlay 'to give to (someone)'
neted 'to deliver to (someone)'

Benlay le mi klatas.

-en-give they us,EX paper

They gave us paper.

Neteden o kuda ekimel.

n-deliver.he me horse DIR,early.afternoon

He delivered the horse to me early
yesterday afternoon.

9.3.3 The *he-* prefix

The *he-* prefix has three functions: (1) when it occurs with an adjective, the adjective is changed to a verb; (2) when it occurs with a verb, it signals that the action of the verb is being initiated by one person, but being performed by another, i.e., it becomes a causative verb, someone is causing another person to do something; (3) when it occurs with a noun, the noun becomes a causative verb or a reflexive verb.

(1) With adjectives to form a verb

bong 'big'
kini 'hot'
moni 'near'
tólóng 'different'

hbong 'to make big/plenty'
hkini 'to heat (something)'
hloni 'to come near'
hútlóng 'to separate'

Deng hkinu ken koni.

PT h-hot.I food just.now

I just finished heating the rice/food.

Béi hlóni bè skê kudà.

do.not.you,SG h-near LOC rear.end horse

Don't go near the rear end of a horse.

(2) With verbs to form a causative verb

minum 'to drink'*hinum* 'to cause (someone) to give a drink to (someone/something)'*segyok* 'to take care of'*hesegyok* 'to cause (someone) to take care of (someone/something)'

Gel hinumem do onuk.
 always h-give.drink.you,SG my chicken

Always give my chickens something to drink.

Hesegyoku ke Kasi yem bew.
 he-care.for.I NF Kasi that carabao

I had Kasi take care of the carabao.

(3) With nouns to form a causative verb

dek 'pestle'*hdek* 'to cause (someone) to pound rice'*klo* 'weeding tool'*heklo* 'to cause (someone) to weed'

Gel wen halay heklo le snén.
 always there.is rice he-weeding.tool they also

There is also always some rice (field) they have others weed.

Sgantang halay nwahu ne hdeku
 s-one.ganta unhulled.rice n-get.I and h-pestle.I

I got one ganta of unhulled rice and had Grandmother pound it (for me).

ke Bé.

NF Grandmother

There is a limited group of nouns that may function as a reflexive when prefixed with *he-*, i.e., the person initiating the action has it done to himself. This takes the focused *-e* set of pronouns for the initiator:

Hguntinge ke Yadan kedeng.
 h-scissors.I NF Yadan later

I'll have Yadan cut my hair later on.

Hetbeke béléem bè nim
 he-sharp.pointed.object.I PREP.you,SG LOC this

I'll have you give me an injection for this sickness of mine.

desu ni.
 sickness.my this

Géhéli hbulung dé.
 hurry.you,SG h-medicine EMPH

Hurry up and have yourself treated with medicine.

Notice the difference in meaning when the nonfocused *-u* set of pronouns is used:

Hguntingu ke Yadan ngà ni.
 h-scissors.I NF Yadan child this

I will have Yadan give this child a hair-cut.

Hetbeku ke Yé Udi ngau.
 he-sharp.pointed.object.I NF Mother Little child.my

I will have Little Mother give my child an injection.

Gèhèl hbulungem ne yehenem.
quick h-medicine.you,SG now spouse.you

Quickly have **your spouse** treated now
with medicine.

9.3.4 The *se-* prefix

The *se-* prefix has two functions: (1) it may signal a reciprocal action, i.e., both parties perform the action or benefit from it; or, (2) it may add the additional meaning of 'one/once' to certain nouns.

9.3.4.1 To signal reciprocal action

(1) With verbs

<i>lò</i>	'to remove'	<i>skò</i>	'to divorce'
<i>tagak</i>	'to leave behind'	<i>stagak</i>	'to leave one another'
<i>ingón</i>	'to know'	<i>seingón</i>	'to know each other'
<i>tóbóng</i>	'to help'	<i>stóbóng</i>	'to help each other'
<i>tulón</i>	'to tell'	<i>stulón</i>	'to talk to each other'

Stóbóng tekuy.
s-help we,IN

Let's all **help each other**.

Ominu stulón yem yehenu.
then.I s-tell that spouse.my

Then I discussed it with my wife.

(2) With adjectives

<i>mayuk</i>	'far'	<i>slayuk</i>	'far from each other'
<i>moni</i>	'near'	<i>sloni</i>	'near each other'
<i>sotu</i>	'one'	<i>ssotu</i>	'to be in agreement'
<i>tólóng</i>	'different'	<i>stólóng</i>	'to be different from each other'

Tche le sloni Mélé Botu Mtutung.
PL-3 they s-near Mélé Botu Mtutung

Previously (the mountains) Mélé Botu
and Mtutung were **near each other**.

Tey stólóng kul kmò.
INT s-different their custom

Their custom is very **different (from
ours)**.

(3) With nouns

<i>lai</i>	'in-law'	<i>slai</i>	'to be in-laws with each other'
<i>lingun</i>	'traditional song'	<i>slingun</i>	'to sing a traditional song to each other'
<i>syat</i>	'a turn off'	<i>sesyat</i>	'crossroads'
<i>yehen</i>	'spouse'	<i>syehen</i>	'to be married'

Tey le móyò slai kem Tboli.
INT they m-like s-in.law PL Tboli

Tboli really like to become **in-laws with
each other**.

Sulòyen buteng laen tungò tau
s-afternoon night NEG,IT ß-sleep person
slingun.
s-traditional.song

The persons who **sing the traditional
songs to each other** don't sleep all night.

9.3.4.2 To add the additional meaning of 'one/once' to certain nouns

The *s-* may be a shortened form of *sotu* 'one':

<i>botù</i>	'piece'	<i>sbotù</i>	'one piece'
<i>goyu</i>	'cob/stalk'	<i>sgoyu</i>	'one cob/one stalk'
<i>halay</i>	'year'	<i>sfalay</i>	'one year'
<i>hunges</i>	'wrapper'	<i>sfunges</i>	'one wrapper'
<i>kdaw</i>	'sun/day'	<i>sendaw</i>	'one day'
<i>ulék</i>	'repeat'	<i>sulék</i>	'once'

Mukas sfalayen ne kegen le lá mayad do. It is more than **one** year now the
more.than **s-year**.it now k-long.time they NEG m-pay me length of time they have not paid me.

Yake new bud ton lu sulék. Good if I can first see them **once** more.
good.if first.I again ß-see them **s-return**

9.3.5 The *ge-* prefix

The *ge-* prefix signals either an ability/capacity to do something or an unintentional action, depending upon the context. It occurs with nouns or verbs.

(1) With nouns

<i>fun</i>	'owner'	<i>gfun</i>	'able to own'
<i>salà</i>	'sin/mistake'	<i>gsalà</i>	'accidentally sin/make a mistake'
<i>tutuk</i>	'nail'	<i>gtutuk</i>	'accidentally bump oneself'

Ne gtutuk kulu Nib. And *Nib* accidentally bumped his head.
and **g-nail** head Nib

Snólóken bélé me yem lefò ke gfunen. He asked us if he was to be the owner
-n-ask.he PREP us,EX that coconut if **g-owner**.he of the coconuts.

(2) With verbs

<i>mon</i>	'say'	<i>gmon</i>	'accidentally say'
<i>mungol</i>	'hear'	<i>gungol</i>	'able to hear (something)'
<i>tungó</i>	'sleep'	<i>gtungó</i>	'able to sleep'

Gungolu udél sdó fatu lem law. I was **able to hear** the squeal of a pig
g-hear.I word pig across in cane in the cane across (the river).

Song gtungóe bud mdom sotu kumú. I wasn't **able to sleep** until I again bor-
not.until **g-sleep**.I again m-borrow one blanket rowed a blanket.

Ge- also occurs in combination with the verbal affix *me-* on certain verbs to form a stative verb. In this combination of *me-* + *ge-*, the vowel of the *ge-* prefix is dropped, and the resultant prefix is *meg-*:

lala 'to disturb'
tafak 'to punish'
teef 'to winnow'
tolok 'to teach'

meɣlala 'to be disturbed'
meɣtafak 'to be punished'
meɣteef 'to be winnowed'
meɣtolok 'to be trained'

Kô meɣlala ye.
 perhaps meɣ-disturb you,PL

Perhaps you will be disturbed.

10. Location

A participant functioning as location occurs with all five focus types. Basically location is the place where the action happens. But in Tboli it can also be the person or thing toward which the action is directed. It is indicated by certain location markers, location words and by the *dini* set of demonstratives as location substitutes.

Usually location occurs at the end of the sentence. But it may occur before the verb when it is necessary to contrast it with some other location for clarification.

10.1 Location marker *bè*

There is a location marker *bè* which is used to indicate both the place where the action happens or the person or thing to which the action is directed. It is also used to introduce an independent clause.

10.1.1 Location as the place where the action happens

Location may be either a person or a place. A demonstrative can be used as a location substitute.

(1) Person as location

Kôl le bè Mrs. Bargas.
 Ø-arrive they LOC Mrs. Bargas

They arrived at (the place of) Mrs. Bargas.

Bude muta haya bè le Afô.
 again.I m-harvest tomorrow LOC PL Afô

I'm going to harvest again tomorrow at (the field of) Afô and his family.

(2) Place as location

Kôl le bè Dadiangas.
 Ø-arrive they LOC Dadiangas

They arrived at Dadiangas.

Mógôw le bè fedyan.
 m-go they LOC market

They went to the market.

Mius le bè yem fsinâ.
 m-pass.by they LOC that office

They passed by that (certain) office.

Tungôe bêlê le bè Afus.
 Ø-sleep.I PREP they LOC Afus

I slept with them at Afus.

(3) Demonstrative as location substitute

Ni sône bè ni.
 this end.I LOC this

This (place) here is as far as I'm going.

Nù bè tu kem dumuhen.
 Ø-to.be LOC there PL companion.his

His companions live **there** (far).

Deng le mangay msó bè yó.
 PT they m-fetch hulled.rice LOC there

They have already fetched some hulled rice **from there**.

10.1.2 Location as that toward which the action is directed

When the location is that toward which the action is directed, it may be a person, a thing or a derived noun. In most cases it is a person. When it functions in this way, it may occur in the goal position before the object or in the location position at the end of the sentence.

(1) Person

Denge hemtahu bè Dwata se dou.
 PT,I hem-true LOC God EMPH me

As for me, I have believed in God.

Ne sidek knawahen bè kem tuónen.
 and bad k-breath.his LOC PL in.law.his

And his attitude is bad toward his in-laws.

Tey bong dou snplu bè Dwata.
 INT big mine -n-face LOC God

I have a very big responsibility to God.

Myak bè yem tau maui.
 m-embarrass-Ø LOC that person m-visit

She's embarrassed to that person who is visiting.

Nómu bè Yē Bong wolu filak.
 n-borrow.I LOC Mother Big eight peso

I borrowed eight pesos from Big Mother.

Olów tó mdóm lematu bè le
 only.I would.like m-borrow -em-hundred LOC PL

I only would like to borrow a hundred (pesos) from New Mother and her companions.

Yē Lomi.

Mother New

Gel snaloku bè Ting ke móyó.
 always -n-ask.I LOC Ting if m-like/want-Ø

I always ask Ting if he wants to.

(2) Thing

Yó gunuhu bemlay du bè hitu filak.
 that place.I -em-give him LOC seven peso

That's the reason I gave it to him for seven pesos.

Doli ngalihiu bè filak nogot Ting.
 fifty.cents hold.back.I LOC money n-hold Ting

I kept back fifty cents from the money that Ting was responsible for.

Okóm hnihiu bè limu latu filak.
 but h-ask.I LOC five hundred peso

But I asked/bargained for five hundred pesos.

Malú kulang bè tgoyu.
 somewhat-Ø Ø-lack LOC round.wood

It's lacking somewhat in round wood (poles).

(3) A derived noun

Ali gedlug khedemem bè kmoem You are thinking too much about your
 INT more.than.enough k-think.you,SG LOC k-do.your work.
nmò.
 n-do

Wen tey tulónu kóm bè kum kmò dini. I have something important to tell you
 there.is INT β-tell.I you,SG LOC us,EX k-do here about our doings here.

10.1.3 Location marker used to introduce a dependent clause

The location marker may be used to introduce a dependent clause:

Sónen efet bè bud keston tekuy. This is all until (the time) when we all
 only.it until LOC again ke-s-see we,IN see each other again.

Bè kmò khenwu kem Tboli, là holen mdengen. The way the Tboli live, it is not very set-
 LOC k-do k-country PL Tboli NEG INT, it settle tled.

Là buden hyu knagien bè yem kdes matahen. He is not able to study well because of
 NEG again.he good k-study.his LOC that k-pain eye.his the painfulness of his eyes.

10.2 Location words

There is a category of words that designate location. These are used without the location marker.

10.2.1 Location words in relation to higher and lower levels

There are four location words that are used in relation to a higher or a lower level. These occur with the two prefixes indicating distance (*de-* 'nearby' and *te-* 'distant'):

<i>bwak</i>	'a lower area'	<i>-lem</i>	'down/below'
<i>aged</i>	'a higher area'	<i>ta</i>	'up/above'

Deng te kól ta. They have already arrived up (in the
 PT they β-arrive up mountains).

Thahu te bè Bsayà bwak. Let's you and I work for the Visayan
 β-work we,DU LOC Visayan lower.area down below.

Ne gu leged yem sotu ówóng bong. And that one large boat came from the
 and from higher.area that one boat big higher area.

(1) With *de-* and *te-*

Deng mulék gu ditu tleged. He has already returned from the dis-
 PT,β m-return from there distant.higher.area tant higher area there.

Deng dnaduhu ne yem fi dlem. I have now already plowed that nearby
 PT -n-plow.I now that DIR nearby.lower.area area just below.

Mosol etu tlem él.
m-downhill-Ø DIR,there distant.below river

He went down (from the mountain)
there to the river far below.

Ne sut se Yê Tahà debwak.
and Ø-arrive INT Mother Tall nearby.lower.area

And Tall Mother arrived in the lower
area nearby.

Tódô ton me Mà Bong mosol
right.then Ø-see we,EX Father Big m-go.downhill
gu dia.
from nearby.up

Right then we saw Big Father coming
downhill from the higher area nearby.

Ne kôle ta, nù ditu se Ting.
and Ø-arrive.I far.higher.area Ø-to.be there also Ting

And (when) I arrived in the area far
up, Ting was there also.

The location word *ta* 'up/above' often occurs with the *ke-* prefix which indicates the distance about halfway between the top of a mountain and the bottom:

Nù le ditu kta.
Ø-to.be they there halfway.up

They live there halfway up (the mountain).

Tódô mlóy gu kta te bulul.
immediate-Ø m-run from halfway.up PREP mountain

He immediately ran from halfway up
the mountain.

10.2.2 Other location words

There are other location words that do not occur with the above prefixes:

<i>fatu</i>	'the other side of'	<i>mool</i>	'downstream'
<i>klohok</i>	'beside'	<i>subô</i>	'upstream'
<i>laan</i>	'under/beneath'	<i>talak</i>	'the middle of'
<i>lem</i>	'in/inside'		

Nù lemen.
Ø-to.be inside.it

It's inside.

Deng le kól lem él.
PT they Ø-arrive in river

They have already arrived in/at the
river.

Béem gel fét laan lefò yem kudà.
NEG,you,SG always Ø-tie under coconut.palm that horse

Don't always tie the horse under the
coconut palm.

Myón bè but hehek klohok ofi.
m-sit-Ø LOC base post near fire

He was sitting at the base of the post
near the fire.

Gungolu udél sdô fatu lem law.
Ø-hear.I word pig other.side.of in cane

I heard the squeal of a pig on the
other side of (the river) in the cane.

Hilu dulék me smubô du, hilu
 how.many times we,EX -m-go.upstream it how.many
dulék me mool du, laen dù sônen.
 times we,EX m-go.downstream it NEG,it it end.it

How many times did we go upstream,
 how many times did we go downstream,
 it had no end.

Mógów me subô kedeng.
 m-go we,EX upstream by.and.by

We are going upstream later on.

Lem frequently occurs as part of a place name:

Lem Snólón
Lem Sembong
Lem Lóyón

'in (the area of) Snólón River'
 'in (the area of) Sembong Gully'
 'in (the area of) Lóyón River'

10.3 The *dini* set of demonstratives as location substitutes

For a review of the *dini* set of demonstratives, see section 5.3:

Dwata semgyok kuy dyó.
 God -em-care.for you,PL there

May God take care of you all there.

Hlósi menwu dini ne.
 Ø-continue.you,SG m-inhabit here now

You continue to live here now.

Tek fat buteng me ditu.
 only four nights we,EX there

We were only there four nights.

A demonstrative from the *dini* set often occurs with a location indicated by a *bè* phrase and/or with a location word:

Deng kmulón dini bè Begabag.
 PT-Ø -m-rain here LOC Bagabag

It has rained here at Bagabag.

Gotu le nù ditu tlem bè
 all they Ø-to.be there distant.below LOC

They all live there far below at the
 Americans.

Mlikan Bukay.
 American White

Deng mulék gu ditu tleged.
 PT-Ø m-return from there distant.higher.area

He has already returned from there far
 up (in the mountains).

10.4 The *e-* prefix indicating motion toward a location

The prefix *e-* indicating direction or motion towards the designated place can occur with the location marker, location words and location substitutes.

(1) With location markers

Bude mulék ebè Sinolon ni.
 again.I m-return DIR.LOC Sinolon now

I'm going to return again to Sinolon
 now.

(2) With location words

Ke gele mógów ekta, là gel
 when always.I m-go DIR, halfway.up NEG always
tonu ke Yê.
 Ø-see.I NF Mother

When I always go **halfway up into** (the mountains), I don't always see Mother.

Bude mulék efatu bè Hitas.
 again.I m-return DIR, other.side LOC Hitas

I'm returning again to the **other side** to Hitas.

(3) With location substitutes

Hgéhéli kut edini.
 h-hurry.you,SG we,DU(polite) DIR, here

Please hurry and come **here**.

Ken me edyó he kedeng.
 Ø-eat we,EX DIR, there yet later

We'll eat later (upon arriving) **there**.

11. Time

A participant functioning as time occurs with all five focus types. Basically time indicates when the activity described by the verb takes place, but it may also indicate a certain measure of time. Although it is always a nonfocused participant, it frequently occurs before the verb when it is necessary to contrast it with some other time for clarification.

11.1 Time words

The following is a list of the most commonly used time words:

<i>buteng</i>	'twenty-four hour period'
<i>fedyan</i>	'market/week'
<i>gtungó</i>	'noon'
<i>halay</i>	'rice/year'
<i>hlafus</i>	'morning'
<i>kdaw</i>	'sun/day'
<i>kemdaw</i>	'noon'
<i>kifu</i>	'night'
<i>kimel</i>	'early afternoon'
<i>kuloy</i>	'late afternoon'

As an *e-* prefix is used with location words to indicate direction towards, so there is an *e-* prefix used with certain time words, but it points backwards to the immediate past:

<i>ebuteng</i>	'DIR, twenty-four hour period'
<i>ekimel</i>	'DIR, early afternoon (yesterday afternoon early)'
<i>ekuloy</i>	'DIR, late afternoon (yesterday afternoon late)'

Some of the time words in the above list occur with *ni* 'this':

<i>fedyan ni</i>	'this week'
<i>halay ni</i>	'this year'
<i>kemdaw ni</i>	'this day (today)'
<i>kimel ni</i>	'this afternoon'

Numbers may occur with *ni* to indicate a future time:

<i>fat ni</i>	'four (days) from now'
<i>lewu ni</i>	'two (days) from now'

The modifiers *gna* 'before/ahead' and *huli* 'behind/after' are used with the following time words:

<i>fedyan gna</i>	'last week/market day'
<i>fedyan huli</i>	'next week/market day'
<i>halay gna</i>	'last year'
<i>halay huli</i>	'next year'

Compounds are also used to express time:

<i>hlafus</i>	<i>ekimel</i>	'yesterday morning'
morning	DIR,early.afternoon	
<i>kdaw</i>	<i>ekimel</i>	'yesterday noon'
sun/day	DIR,early.afternoon	
<i>suloyen</i>	<i>buteng</i>	'all night'
s-late.afternoon.it	24.hour.period	

11.2 How time is indicated

Time may be indicated by: (1) a time word occurring with *bè*; (2) a time word indicating a measure of time; (3) a *ni* set demonstrative with or without a time word; (4) by an adverb from the *eginu* class (see sec. 3.2.2(1)) with or without a time word.

11.2.1 A time word with *bè*

Lemwót tekuy bè udas fat hlafus.
-em-leave we,IN LOC hour four morning

We'll all leave at four o'clock in the morning.

Bude mnagi bè halay huli.
again, I-study LOC year after

I'll study again next year.

Sotu kifu bè Akad tungóe bè Afus.
one night LOC Sunday β-sleep.I LOC Afus

One Sunday night I slept at Afus.

Dó bè Julay kgefeten yem silà Tboli.
maybe LOC July k-reach.its that corn Tboli

Maybe in July Tboli corn will be ready to eat.

11.2.2 A measure of time indicated

Deng tlu butengen là mken.
PT three night.she NEG m-food

It's already three nights she hasn't eaten.

Deng mukas sfolò halayen ne.
PT more.than ten year.it now

It has already been more than ten years now.

Sfolò fat butengen nù ta.
s-ten four night.he β-to.be up

It was fourteen nights he stayed up (in the house).

Dô bulón huli kgefet bkadu.
maybe month after k-reach avocado

Maybe next month the avocados will be ripe.

11.2.3 A *ni* set demonstrative with or without a time word

Lelu ni kem mfas.
still.I this PL m-clear.a.field

I'm still at this time clearing a field.

Sónmou hemdem kuy bulón ni.
always.I -em-think you,PL month this

I'm always thinking of you all this month.

Són ni kifu ni là keseken du.
just this night this NEG k-wear.she it

It's just tonight she's not wearing it.

The demonstrative *ni* often occurs with the *ke-* prefix, forming the word *kni* a previous/past time:

Likoe kudà hanà kegenu udi kni.
Ø-afraid.I horse still k-long.time.my little k-this

I was afraid of horses in the past when I was still a child.

Lumun yem tehe knawa me ebéléem
like that former k-breath ours,EX DIR,PREP,you,SG

It's like our former attitude toward you in the past.

kni.
k-this

This *kni* form also occurs with the prefix *e-* which indicates a direction towards a past time:

tehe yu ekni
previous that DIR,k-this

'a long, long time past'

tehe benwu gnan ekni
previous country before.it DIR,k-this

'in a previous country from before in times past'

tehe knuu bè Kiambà ekni
previous k-to.be LOC Kiamba DIR,k-this

'when I previously lived in Kiamba in times past'

Yake yem gna tehe kukét me
good.if that before previous k-pick.corn our,EX

Good (if it were like) that previous time we picked corn in times past.

ekni.
DIR,k-this

11.2.4 An *eginu* set adverb with or without a time word

Fene mò ken kedeng.
ID m-do food later

I'm the one to cook rice later on.

Deng bud lem wót koni.
PTØ again -em-leave just.now

She just now left again.

Gu me bè Demfilan eginu.
Ø-from we,EX LOC Demfilan DIR,early

We came from Demfilan earlier (today).

Bude mógów bè Afus kemdaw ni kedeng.
again.I m-go LOC Afus -em-day this later

I'll go again to Afus later today.

Ni kemdaw ni eginu, kemlo me bè
this -em-day this DIR,early -em-weed we,EX LOC
iniba.
-n-ricefield

Earlier today we weeded in the ricefield.

12. Negatives

12.1 Types of negatives

There are three negatives in Tboli: *là*, *bê* and *sundu/sindu*.

12.1.1 The negative *là*

Là negates an action (a verb) or a descriptive (an adjective). It always precedes that which it negates, and it never attracts the pronoun actor to itself.

(1) With a verb

Là munge.
NEG m-go.along.I

I'm not going along.

Là benlay le do.
NEG -en-give they me

They didn't give it to me.

Là tulónen du.
NEG Ø-tell.he/she it

He/She didn't tell it.

Là tnawe.
NEG Ø-cold.I

I'm not cold.

(2) With an adjective

Là bongen.
NEG big.it

It's not big.

Là bud buden du.
NEG again again.he it

He will not do it again.

Là bong guta me.
NEG big g-get we,EX

We didn't get much.

Deng legen là bud keston le.
PT long.time NEG again ke-s-see their

It has been a long time their not seeing each other.

In the *-e* set of actor or experiencer focus pronouns (see sec. 4.1.1), the third person 'he/she/it' is indicated by the absence of a word to signify it, i.e., a zero pronoun. When *là* negates a verb using this zero pronoun, it borrows the equivalent pronoun *-en* from the non-focused *-u* set to fill the seemingly empty space:

Mung.
m-go.along-Ø

He/she is going along.

Là mungen.
NEG m-go.along.he/she

He/she is not going along.

Tnaw.
Ø-cold-Ø

He/she/it is cold.

Là tnawen.
NEG Ø-cold.he/she/it

He/she/it is not cold.

12.1.2 The negative *bê*

The negative command *bê* is used with verbs only, negating an action. It always attracts the pronoun actor from its regular position following the verb to itself, whether the pronoun is from the focused actor -e set or from the nonfocused actor -u set:

Bée dou.
do.not.I as.for.me

As for me, I don't want to.

Béi hebiang.
do.not.you,SG he-fall

Don't you fall.

Béem hentaw lu.
do.not.you,SG -en-amaze them

Don't you be amazed at them.

Béen iafa nawa le do.
do.not.it Ø-anxious breath they me

They should not be anxious about me.

12.1.3 The negative *sundu/sindu*

Sundu/sindu negates nouns or noun substitutes. So in an equational sentence, it negates the noun or noun substitute functioning as the topic of the equation. The pronoun *du* 'he/she/it' may occur after whatever is being negated:

Sundu adat bè Tboli du yó.
not custom LOC Tboli it that

That is not a Tboli custom.

Sundu kumù Tboli du ni.
NEG blanket Tboli it this

This is not a Tboli blanket.

Sundu uu gna tau.
not you,SG first person

You are not the first person (in the world).

Sundu yó hendemu.
not that -en-think.I

That is not what I'm thinking.

Tngónu sundu ni kun kóyô Dwata.
Ø-know.I NEG this hls k-want/like God

I know that this is not God's desire.

Sundu do du yem toloku kul.
NEG mine it that β-teach.I them

It is **not** mine that (teaching) I teach them.

12.2 Negatives emphasized

Negatives *là* and *bê* may be emphasized by three modifiers only: *kô*, *dog* and *abay*.

12.2.1 *Là* emphasized by *kô*

Kô only modifies *là*, but it occurs in this combination frequently. It adds the meaning of being very definite or very certain about something. When the actor focus *-e* set of pronouns is used, the *kô* always attracts the actor pronoun from the verb to itself. When the pronoun for 'he/she/it' is needed, the equivalent pronoun *-en* is borrowed from the nonfocused actor *-u* set. It, too, is attracted to *kô*:

Là kôe mýô mung.
NEG INT,I m-want m-go.along

I **definitely** do not want to go along.

Ke là mebeli ken, là kô
if NEG m-look.for.you,SG food NEG INT,you,SG
gemken se.
g-em-food EMPH

If you don't look for food, you **will certainly not** be able to eat.

Là kôen deng kmulón he.
NEG INT,it PT -m-rain yet

It **definitely** has not rained yet.

Là kôen kóyów he.
NEG INT,it adequate yet

It **definitely** is still inadequate.

12.2.2 *Là* and *bê* emphasized by *dog*

The modifier *dog* modifies both *là* and *bê*. In some contexts it has the meaning of not being able to do something. In other contexts it carries the meaning of not wanting to bother about doing something--a "never mind" attitude.

(1) With *là*

When *dog* modifies the negative *là* in a sentence requiring the nonfocused *-u* set of pronouns as actor, the pronoun actor always remains in the regular actor slot following the verb. It is never attracted to *dog*:

Là dog nwit le do.
NEG INT n-bring they me

They **didn't** bother to bring me along.

Là dog tngónu du mò kken me.
NEG INT β-know.I it PREP k-food our,EX

I **did not** know what we would eat.

Là dog tulónu du kul le Yê Bong.
NEG INT β-tell.I it them PL Mother Big

I **didn't bother** to tell it to them Big Mother and her companions.

But when *dog* modifies a negative used in a sentence requiring the focused *-e* set of pronouns as actor, the actor is always attracted to *dog*. And, as has been noted before, when 'he/she/it' from this set of pronouns is needed, the equivalent pronoun *-en* from the non-focused *-u* set is borrowed:

Là doge bud gulék.
NEG INT,I again g-return

I didn't bother to return again.

Là doge bud mò nmò.
NEG INT,I again Ø-do n-do

I didn't bother again to do (any) work.

Là dogen mudél, tódò neb.
NEG INT,he m-word just Ø-silent

He wouldn't speak, he was just silent.

Là dogen gefet kimel keklo
NEG INT,It g-reach early.afternoon ke-weeding.tool
me.
our,EX

Our weeding was over before early afternoon.

Là dogen hol bud hligal yem tau
NEG INT,he INT again Ø-happy that person
dumu me.
companion our,EX

That person who was our companion was not very happy anymore.

In the above examples where the focused *-e* set of pronouns has been attracted to the modifier *dog*, another change takes place if time, location, certain conjunctions, etc. occurs at the beginning of the sentence. These sentence initial participants not only attract the actor pronoun from *dog*, but they change it from the focused *-e* set to the nonfocused *-u* set:

Wen se kdawu là dog mò nmò.
there.is EMPH day.I NEG INT do n-do

There were days when I didn't bother to work.

Tey kegenen là dog mudél.
INT k-long.time.his NEG INT m-word

It was a very long time he wouldn't speak.

Ominu hlilil là dog kmumu.
then.I Ø-lie.down NEG INT -m-blanket

Then I lay down not bothering to use a blanket.

(2) With *bé*

As has already been noted, *bé* may be used in sentences with either a focused or non-focused actor, and it always attracts the actor pronoun to itself:

Béem dog tenles ne.
NEG,you.SG INT -en-change now

Don't bother to change it now.

Béen dog mnagi abay se tafa
NEG,he INT m-study because EMPH anxious
nawahu du.
breath.my him

Never mind (if) he studies because I'm very anxious about him.

Sometimes *bé* is dropped and *dog* is used by itself:

Dog mnagi ne.
INT m-study-Ø now

Never mind (if) he studies now.

Dog tenles ne.
INT -en-change now

Never mind changing it now.

12.2.3 *Bé* emphasized by *abay*

The modifier *abay* only modifies the negative *bé* 'don't', which is used as a command, a request or a warning. *Abay* adds a strong note of authority or urgency to this negative. As has already been said, *bé* always attracts the pronoun actor to itself, whether it is focused or a nonfocused actor:

Béi abay kmó!
do.not.you,SG INT Ø-jump.down

Don't jump down!

Béi abay mógów hegtusak!
do.not.you,SG INT m-go heg-wander.around

Don't just go wandering around!

Béem abay hnifót o kóó?
do.not.you,SG INT -n-forget me QU

Don't forget me, will you?

Bé ye abay henné o dé bè kmou
do.not you,PL INT -en-ridicule me EMPH LOC k-do.my
nmó.
n do

Don't ridicule me about my working.

Bé ye abay knutó nawa yem ngà ye
do.not you,PL INT -n-hate breath that child your,PL
twogu.
older

Don't hate your oldest child.

13. Questions

Questions are formed either by using one of the question words (with or without the question particle *de*) or by adding the question particles (*kó* or *kóó*) to an ordinary statement.

13.1 Question words

There are nine different question words in Tboli, and they always occur at the beginning of the sentence. A sentence which uses one of these question words is called an interrogative sentence, and the word used in asking the question is called an interrogative pronoun.

- (1) *Tau du* 'who/whose' (lit., 'person he/she/it')

Tau du se gel gna tungó?
person he/she/it EMPH always first Ø-sleep

Who is always the first one to go to sleep?

- (2) *Kilón* 'when'

Kilón se kulékem du?
when EMPH k-return.you,SG it

When is it you are returning?

(3) *Gunù/nù* 'where' (lit., 'place')

A noun or pronoun always follows this question word. The glottal stop is dropped when a singular pronoun is attached directly to the word:

Gunù ye nù de?
place you,PL Ø-to.be QU

Where are you living?

Gunuhen nù lan bè ni?
place.it Ø-to.be path LOC here

Where is the path here?

Nù se kudà du?
place EMPH horse it

Where is the horse?

Gunum/gum esolu de?
place.you,SG DIR,face QU

Where are you going?

Gunù ye deng bud tniba?
place you,PL PT again -m-ricefield

Where have you again made your ricefield?

Gunù le Fining nù se kul du?
place they Fining Ø-to.be EMPH them it

Where are *Fining* and the others living as for them?

(4) *Tedu* 'what'

Tedu des le kem ngà ni?
what sickness their PL child this

What is the sickness of these children?

(5) *Boluy* 'what' (lit., 'name')

Boluyen de?
name.its QU

What is happening?

Boluyem?
name.your,SG

What is your name?

(6) *Mò knò* 'how'

Mò kmoen se yem kógów ye?
Ø-do k-do.its EMPH that k-go your,PL

How was your journey?

(7) *Moen* 'why'

Moen ke hnali?
Ø-do.he/she if -n-wound.you,SG

Why did you cut yourself?

(8) *Mahi du* 'which he/she/it'

Mahi du matù?
which he/she/it m-win

Which one won?

Mahi du bélê le kemgis?
which he/she PREP them -em-strong

Which of them is the stronger?

(9) *Hilu* 'how many/how much'

Hilu tau kenfô le?
how.many people -en-catch they

How many people did they arrest?

13.2 Question particles

There are three question particles: *de*, *kô* and *kóó*.

13.2.1 Question particle *de*

The question particle *de* often occurs with all the question words, especially if they are used in isolation:

<i>Boluyen de?</i>	'What is it?'
<i>Gunun nú de?</i>	'Where is it?'
<i>Hilu de betesen?</i>	'How much does it cost?'
<i>Kilón de?</i>	'When?'
<i>Mò knoen de kuy?</i>	'How is it with you all?'
<i>Moem de?</i>	'What is your purpose?'
<i>Moem de?</i>	'Why?'
<i>Nú de?</i>	'Where is it?'
<i>Tedu de?</i>	'What is it?'

13.2.2 Question particles *kô* and *kóó*

An ordinary statement can become a question by adding either the *kô* or *kóó* particle. The "ordinary statement" may be either a sentence using a regular verb or it may be a nonverbal sentence.

13.2.2.1 The particle *kô*

The question particle *kô* indicates that the questioner expects either a 'yes' or 'no' answer. It occurs following the actor or experiencer in an ordinary verbal sentence. It follows the comment in an equational sentence.

(1) Verbal sentence

Ti.gón ye kô yem deng tonu?
β-know you,PL QU that PT β-see.I

Do you know what I saw?

Deng mkó kô yem tehe senlaw Timud? Has Timud's former sickness been
PT m-remove-β QU that former -en-sickness Timud removed/healed?

Deng bud ton ye kô yem sdó?
PT again β-see you,PL QU that pig

Have you found the pig yet?

Móyói kô ke wen tulónu kóm?
m-want.you,SG QU if there.is β-tell.I you,SG

Would you like it if I told you something?

Deng nauy ye kô?
PT n-visit you,PL QU

Have you visited him yet?

(2) Nonverbal sentence

Hyu kô atul ni?
good QU idea this

Is this a good idea?

Ni kô gunù ye nù?
this QU place you,PL Ø-to.be

Is this where you live?

Sana kwen le kô ngà onuku?
still k-there.is their QU child chicken.my

Are all my little chickens still alive?

Deng mabù kô Kasi?
PT m-fat QU Kasi

Has Kasi gotten fat?

With the existential *wen* 'there is', the question particle occurs following the comment:

Wen kô tau hemsidek kóm?
there.is QU person h-em-bad you,SG

Was there a person who hurt you?

Wen kô bulungen yem mütö lem ilungen?
there.is QU medicine.it that m-blood inside nose.it

Is there medicine for a nosebleed?

But with the existential 'there is none', the question particle always occurs at the end of the question:

Laen dù kuy tenduk kô?
NEG,it it you,PL -en-sickness QU

None of you are sick, are you?

Laen deng mosok bè nihin kô?
NEG,it PT m-fall.out LOC tooth.his QU

None of his teeth have fallen out, have they?

13.2.2.2 The particle *kóó*

The *kóó* particle indicates that the questioner wants a 'yes' for an answer. It occurs at the very end of a regular verbal sentence, but in an equational clause it occurs following the comment.

(1) Verbal sentence

Hol ye gel mni bélé me bè Dwata kóó?
INT you,PL always m-ask PREP us,EX LOC God QU

Always really pray to God for us, won't you?

Bê tekuy seklifót kóó?
NEG we,IN se-forget QU

We won't forget each other, will we?

Deng le mangay msó bè yó kun le
PT they m-fetch hulled.rice LOC that him PL

Father and his household have already gotten some hulled rice from there, haven't they?

Mà kóó?
Father QU

(2) Equational clause

Deng deng ne kóó keklo ye
PT finish now QU ke-weeding.tool you,PL

You have already finished now, haven't you, your weeding the peanuts?

legasing?
peanuts

Ni he kóó hol tahu ksulatem ebéléu?
 this yet QU really true k-letter.your DIR,PREP,me

This is really your first time to write to
 me, isn't it?

14. Summary

It was said in the introduction that learning a language well is a most exacting task. Now after having gone through this material, you know this fact by experience. In looking at Tboli as a whole, there are two basic hurdles that cannot be avoided by the learner. These are pronunciation and the focus system.

Pronunciation is the hurdle for a Filipino learning Tboli, since Tboli has vowels that are not in most of the major languages of the Philippines: seven vowels instead of the usual four. Another difficulty is the Tboli preference for only one or two syllables in a root word which results in double consonants at the beginning of a great many words. Another difference is the fact that stress on a root word always falls on the final syllable, a fact which does not change even when a pronoun suffix is added. These are differences that make it more difficult for a Filipino to master Tboli pronunciation.

For an expatriate, the hurdle is the focus system, and this hurdle we are seldom able to clear completely. Even knowing the system does not always mean that we can use it correctly in speaking. Filipinos are well acquainted with the focus system. But the difficulty for them in learning Tboli is the fact that Tboli does not have the particles familiar to them to signal which participant in a sentence is in focus. It may be helpful to remember that the five different focus types in Tboli can be divided into two groups based on their similarities: experiencer and actor in one group; object, goal and instrument in the other. Of these five sentence types, the most frequently used are actor focus and object focus.

The four pronoun sets are also divided into two groups: two functioning as substitutes for a focused participant, the other two for a nonfocused participant. Other basic factors to remember are:

1. Only one participant can be in focus in a sentence.
2. The affix on the verb (or the lack of an affix) designates the role the focused participant plays in the sentence.
3. Substituting a pronoun for an unmarked noun or noun phrase will clearly reveal whether it is functioning as a focused or a nonfocused participant.
4. Word order is fixed in Tboli. The position of a participant in a sentence determines its role in that sentence. Only a focused participant can be used in the preverb position.

Since this is not an exhaustive study of Tboli grammar, it is to be expected that you will have questions that are not answered in this material. If you would like help with those questions, write the author at the Summer Institute of Linguistics, Nasuli, Malaybalay, 8700 Bukidnon.

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Bantoanon Phonology

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Abbreviations and symbols

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Abbreviations and symbols

C	any consonant
V	any vowel
s.t.	something
:	syllable break/reduplicated syllable
ˈ	primary stress
ˈ	secondary stress
ː	length marker
ʔ	glottal stop
#	end of word
~	fluctuates with
ˈv	phonemic stress
˙	unreleased stop
[]	phonetic script
//	phonemic script
→	movement of vowel variants
/	alternate related meaning

9. Introduction

The Bantoanon language has borrowed from Spanish and English, as well as from Hiligaynon and Tagalog. All of these languages have exerted sociopolitical influence within the Bantoanon speaking area.¹

Many of the borrowed words have been assimilated into the Bantoanon phonemic patterns. Many of these retain the phonemic structures of the donor language, and some show evidence of a mixing of different phonemic patterns. The existence of at least two phonemic subsystems² has made the analysis of Bantoanon rather complex, and like the approach of Robert A. French (1981) in 'The Phonology of Romblomanon', it was decided to focus first on the phonology of native Bantoanon³ words and then to consider the added phonemic patterns and phonemes resulting from borrowing.

1. Higher level phonology

Higher level phonological units have been analyzed only briefly but some comments will be included here regarding them. In general, distinctive features which differentiate higher phonological units from lower ones also dominate the lower level features.

1.1. Phonological paragraph

The highest phonological unit noted is the phonological paragraph. Its distinctive features, which differentiate it from the lower level breath group, include a downward trend in pitch and intensity fading into silence over the last pause segment. These features are found at the end of a thought pattern, and they signal the end of a story or a change of topic.

1.2 Breath group

The breath group is the next lower phonological unit and is distributed in the phonological paragraph. It is also the unit in which one or more pause groups are distributed. The boundaries of the breath group are marked by silence and breath intake, as well as pitch variation and intensity. It begins with a mid pitch or high pitch falling to a down glide on the final syllable for a statement. For interrogatives marked by a question word, there is a slight up glide to a mid pitch level on the final syllable. Unmarked interrogatives have a more noticeable up glide to high pitch level on the final syllable. Other variations at this level include high pitch, intensity and speed at the onset of the breath group, and mid to high pitch, rising intensity and length on the final syllable of the unit.

1.3 Pause group

The pause group serves as the matrix for the stress group. The nucleus of a pause group is a stress group which carries more intensity than the other stress groups. Slightly higher pitch usually accompanies intensity. In present data, the nucleus occurs on the first stress group of the pause group unless the first stress group is a noun or adverb marker, then it occurs on the final stress group.

¹ Bantoanon is spoken in the province of Romblon, in Southern Tagalog Region IV, in the central Philippines. It is one of the three languages spoken in the province, but not the lingua franca of the province. There are some estimated 50,000 speakers of the language, which is sometimes called Bantoanon and other times Odionganon or Asi. The speakers live on a number of small islands, but have one growing port of access, Odiongan. Bantoanon is classified in the same group of languages as Romblomanon and Hiligaynon (Zorc 1977).

² The "two phonemic subsystems" refer to one based on Philippine languages (i.e. Bantoanon, Tagalog and Hiligaynon) in combination with an Indo-European one (i.e. Spanish and English).

³ "Native Bantoanon" words are assumed to be without any recognizable Spanish or English influence. Any influence from other Philippine languages like Tagalog or Hiligaynon was considered part of the Bantoanon vocabulary, if they were either cognates or if the local Bantoanons considered the words to be so commonly used by them as to have become additional vocabulary as part of the Bantoanon language.

1.4 Stress group

Stress is contrastive in Bantoanon words. A stress group is the phonological unit within which syllables are distributed. The nucleus of each stress group is the primary stressed syllable ['v] which may be optionally followed by one unstressed syllable. There is a slight pause at the junctures of the stress groups and a slight rise of pitch and intensity at the stress group nucleus. If the stress group nucleus is an open syllable, the vowel is slightly lengthened. Stress groups consisting of from one to four syllables have been observed in the language.

Primary stress ['] favours the penultimate or ultimate syllable of the stress group. Secondary stress ["] may optionally occur on the second syllable preceding the syllable with primary stress. Secondary stress has the same features as primary stress, including vowel length on open syllables, but these features are weaker in all respects, especially pitch.

In stressed closed syllables the vowel appears louder, rather than lengthened, though sometimes there may be a slight lengthening on stressed, word final closed syllables.

Note: Glottal stop in the following phonetic transcriptions is signified by the symbol 'ʔ'.

[ʔsu:.ka]	'vinegar'
[su.'ka:]	'bone'
[ma.'gu:.yang]	'parept'
[ma.gu.'yang]	'elder sibling'
[bt.'tu:.ka]	'stomach'
[ha.ri.'ʔin]	'where'
[ʔsa.lum.'pa:.ti]	'dove'

If a word is formed by reduplication of the whole word base, secondary stress will usually occur on the same syllable as stress does in the base, but primary stress will shift to the penultimate syllable of the reduplicated base.

[ba.'ru]	'gun'	[ba."ru.'ba:.ru]	'toy gun'
[ba.'yay]	'house'	[ba."yay.'ba:.yay]	'playhouse'
[ʔta:wo]	'person'	[ʔta.wo.'ta:wo]	'miniature of a person'
[ba.'kay]	'buy'	[ba."kay.'ba:.kay]	'pretending to buy'

However, a contrast was noted between the following in which case the second word of a pair involves stress shift to the final syllable of the reduplicated base as well as the base when it is not word final.

[ba.'yay]	'house'
[ba."yay.'ba:.yay]	'playhouse'
[ba."yay.ba.'yay]	'house to house'
[ʔli:bot]	'go around'
[ʔli.bot.'li:bot]	'wander round and round'
[li."bot.li.'bot]	'vagabond life'

2. Syllable patterns

A syllable consists of an obligatory peak preceded by an obligatory onset and followed by an optional coda CV(C). Vowel phonemes (v) fill the peak slots and consonant phonemes (c) fill the margins. In the examples cited, syllables are distinguished within a word by the use of a period. In native Bantoanon words there are two unambiguous syllable types: CV, CVC. These are unrestricted in their distribution. Spanish loan words have brought the three additional syllable types: CCV, CCVC, CVCC.

Syllables of the CV type are illustrated in the following words:

[ra]	/ra/	'also'
[si]	/si/	'naming particle'
['su:.so]	/súsu/	'breast'
[sa.'ŋah]	/saŋá/	'branch'
['si:.paʔ]	/sípaq/	'kick'
['gul.pi]	/gúlpi/	'suddenly'
[ka.'ba:.di]	/kabádi/	'woman'

Syllables of the CVC type are illustrated in the following words:

[nak.]	/nak/	'linking particle'
[kag]	/kag/	'ang particle'
[kug]	/kug/	'if'
['rɔŋ.rɔŋ]	/ríŋrɔŋ/	'wall'
[ha.'tor]	/hatúr/	'deliver'
['bu:.lɔŋ]	/búlig/	'help'
['tag.mi]	/tágmi/	'taste'

Syllables of the CCV type are illustrated in the following words:

['pri:.to]	/prítu/	'fry'
['ka:.tri]	/kátri/	'bed'
['tra:.to]	/trátu/	'order'

Syllables of the CCVC type are illustrated in the following words:

[plɔŋ.'ga:.na]	/plangána/	'large basin'
[traŋ.'ka:.so]	/traŋkásu/	'fever'

Syllables of the CVCC types are illustrated in the following words:

['pɪr.daym]	/pídaym/	'amount'
['beyn.te]	/bíynti/	'twenty'

In the data collected so far, the first consonant of an onset cluster can be any consonant except /q/, /ŋ/, /w/, and /y/. The second consonant of an onset cluster is limited to /l/, /r/, /s/, /w/, and /y/. In a coda cluster the initial consonant is always /y/. The final consonant of a coda cluster is always a nasal.

2.1 Interpretation of suspect phones and sequences

In accordance with the nonsuspect syllable patterns, the high vowels [i] and [u] are considered to be:

- a) vowels /i/ and /u/ when they occur in syllable peaks,
- b) consonants /w/ and /y/ when they occur in the margins.

Examples:

[tui'ar]	/tuyár/	'like that'
[uai'aʔ]	/wayáq/	'none'

There are no unambiguous VV sequences in the data. Any that appear to be a VV sequence are separated by a glottal stop when observed in careful speech. All word initial vocoids are preceded by glottal stop phonetically.

Examples:

[ʔu.'star]	/qistár/	'live/dwell'
[ʔu.'yan]	/quyán/	'rain'

Consonantal length has not been observed.

In keeping with nonsuspect syllable patterns, single consonants between syllable peaks are interpreted as filling the onset of the second syllable.

Examples:

[ma.'tah]	/matá/	'eye'
[bu.'boŋ]	/bubúŋ/	'roof ridgecap'

Similarly, all consonant sequences between syllable peaks for native Bantoanon words are interpreted as the first consonant filling the coda of the first syllable, and the second consonant filling the onset of the second syllable.

Examples:

[ʔun.'dɔʔ]	/qindíq/	'no'
[sug.roŋ]	/súgruŋ/	'join'

Some borrowed words have consonant sequences that must be interpreted as having a consonant cluster filling the onset of the first syllable, in keeping with the additional syllable patterns available for borrowed words.

Example:

[tra.'ba:ho]	/trabáhu/	'work'
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Palatalized and labialized sequences occur mostly in loan words, and only in the onset margin of syllables. Sequences that are written like Ciy/Cuw (where C is any consonant) as is the case in Pilipino, tend to be pronounced as two syllables, especially word medial. The Pilipino orthographical pattern using the intervening vowel does not cause much difficulty word initial, though here too the writers would normally exclude the intervening vowel if it were not for Pilipino education. Word medial the intervening vowel causes difficulty and should not be used.

Example:

(Pilipino)	['džar.yo]	/diyáryo/	'newspaper'
(Bantoanon)	[ba.'dzʌŋ]	/badsán/ ~ /badyáng/	'never mind'

3. The phoneme

The phoneme is the minimal phonological unit, and it is the filler of the syllable slots (Pike 1967:302-306). There are nineteen segmental phonemes in native Bantoanon words, as well as the phoneme of stress. Of these, three are vowels and sixteen are consonants.

Vowels: /i, a, u/

Consonants: /p, b, t, d, k, g, q, h, s, l, r, m, n, ŋ, w, y/

3.1 Vowels

Vowels are distinguished from consonants by their syllabicity. The three vowels in native Bantoanon are produced, one each in the front, central and back areas of the mouth.

Length or lengthening [with devoicing] word final, is a feature of vowels in stressed open syllables. The word final [devoicing] is like h replacing the vowel length found nonword final. This h is interpreted as a feature of stressed h syllables rather than as the coda of a CVC syllable.

Since this is only a three vowel system each vowel has a wide range of phonetic variations, and it is often hard to distinguish the phonetic quality of variants.

There are two features in the phonological word that determine which vowel allophone occurs. These are stress and syllable shape.

Lower front and back vowel allophones occur poststress, and in all word final syllables. The central vowel remains low.

Higher allophones of front and back vowels generally occur in the stressed nonword final syllable. Lower allophones occur in prestress or poststress positions. The lowest allophones occur poststress or word final.

There is movement of vowel variants in closed syllables towards the position of the mid central vocoid $[a]$, which is slightly less in prestress and stressed positions. The front and back vowel allophones centralize and lower, and the central vowel rises.

Example: $[i] \rightarrow [u]$, $[u] \rightarrow [o]$, $[a] \rightarrow [a]$.

(Note: The $[u]$ typed throughout this paper is the phone $[u]$ but since there is no distinct phone $[u]$ in this phonology, the paper is typed using the symbol $[u]$).

In words consisting of two closed syllables with nonword final stress and having the same vowel the vowel quality, which occurs in the stressed nucleus, also occurs in the unstressed nucleus.

Example:

$['bug.tuŋ] \sim ['bog.tuŋ]$ $/búgtuŋ/$ 'only child'

Sometimes the stressed syllable allophone will appear higher than the poststress one, in accordance with the general movement of vowels to the mid central vocoid position.

Examples:

$['bug.tuŋ]$ $/búgtuŋ/$ 'only child'
 $['ki.wu]$ $/kiwit/$ 'go crooked'

In words of more than two syllables, the prestress and stressed syllables will manifest the higher allophone of front and back vowels,

Examples:

$[bu.li.'bid]$ $/bilibid/$ 'type of palm'
 $[sug.'bu.han]$ $/sugbúhan/$ 'sunset'

but the lower allophone of the central vowel.

Example:

$[ka.'lam.paŋ]$ $/kalámpaŋ/$ 'noise when something falls'

The higher allophones of front and back vowels occur in stressed syllables. Allophones tend to be higher in closed syllables also. The lower allophones occur in word initial and word final positions in unstressed syllables, with the lowest allophone word final. The allophone $[e]$ only occurs in open syllables in word initial and word final positions.

The higher allophone of the central vowel occurs in closed syllables. The low allophone occurs prestress or in stressed open syllables. Allophones tend to lower word final.

Allophone occurrence in closed syllables:

allophones	CVC.'CVC.CVC#	(# symbolizes end of word)
of /i/	i i i	
/u/	u~o u~o o	
/a/	a~A a~A A	

Allophone occurrence in open syllables:

allophones	CV.'C.V.CV#	
of /i/	i~i~e i i~i~e	
/u/	u~o u o	
/a/	a~A a a~A	

Examples. Nonword final stress on open syllables:

/i/	['ʔi:hiʔ]	/qíhiq/	'urinate'
	['pi:stʔ]	/písiq/	'rope'
	['hi:pir]	/hípir/	'store/pack'

Nonword final stress on closed syllables:

	['gab.ʔi]~['gab.ʔe]	/gábqi/	'night'
	['ruŋ.ruŋ]	/ríŋriŋ/	'wall'

Word final stress on closed syllables:

	['ʔi.'wih]	/iwi/	'scorpion'
	[ri.'ʔin]~[ri.'ʔin]	/riqín/	'where?'
	['ʔi.'tom]~['ʔi.'tom]	/qitóm/	'black'

Examples. Nonword final stress on open syllables:

/u/	['ʔu:yo]	/qúyu/	'head'
	['su:so]	/súsu/	'breast'
	['ʔu.'yu:.nan]~['ʔo.'yu:.nan]	/quyúnan/	'pillow'

Nonword final stress on closed syllables:

	['bug.toʔ]~['bɔg.tɔʔ]	/búgtuq/	'break/snap'
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Word final stress on closed syllables:

	['ʔu.'nor]~['ʔo.'nor]	/qunúr/	'contents'
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Examples. Nonword final stress on open syllables:

/a/	['ʔa:ga]	/qága/	'morning'
	['sa:baʔ]	/sábak/	'pregnant'
	['ʔa.'sa:wa]	/qasáwa/	'spouse'
	['ʔag.sam]~['ʔag.sam]	/qágsam/	'graze'

Nonword final stress on closed syllables:

['bak.tɪn] ~ ['bak.tɪn]	/báktin/	'pig'
['pak.pak] ~ ['pak.pak]	/pákpak/	'wing'

Word final stress on closed syllables:

[ʔu.'pah]	/qupá/	'chaff'
[sa.'bat] ~ [sa.'bat]	/sabát/	'answer'
[sak.'yan] ~ [sak.'yan]	/sakyán/	'ride'

The lowering of front and back vowel variants in relation to stress and syllable shape has been presented with a view to clarifying orthographical preferences that are made when Bantoanons use five vowels as in Spanish and English, rather than only three which are phonemically sufficient for native Bantoanon words.

3.1.1 Vowel contrasts

Bantoanon vowels:	front	central	back
	i	a	u

The vowel phonemes contrast in the following words:

Examples. Closed syllables:

a and i:	['raŋ.raŋ]	/ráŋraŋ/	'dry over fire'
	['rɪŋ.rɪŋ]	/ríŋrɪŋ/	'wall'

Open syllables:

	[ha.'li:]	/halí/	'here'
	[hi.'law]	/hiláw/	'unripe'

Word final open syllables:

	['pa:ta]	/páta/	'lower leg of animal'
	['pa:ti]	/páti/	'believe'

Examples. Closed syllables:

a and u:	['bár.bar]	/bárbar/	'wind up'
	['búr.bor]	/búrbur/	'wrap to cook'

Open syllables:

	['ʔa:ŋot]	/áŋut/	'cry to follow'
	['ʔu:ŋon]	/úŋun/	'splinter'

Word final open syllables:

	[ma.'ta:]	/matá/	'eye'
	[ba.'to:]	/batú/	'stone'

Examples. Closed syllables:

i and u:	['tɔŋ.tɔŋ]	/tɔŋtɔŋ/	'hit/tap'
	['tɔŋ.tɔŋ]	/tɔŋtɔŋ/	'stand on top of'

Open syllables:

	['ʔi.'ba:]	/qibá/	'other'
	['ʔu.'bo:]	/qubúh/	'cough'

Word final open syllables:

	['ta:.'ʔi]	/tʒqi/	'faeces'
	['ta:.'ʔo:]	/taquí/	'give'

3.1.2 Vowel phonemes

/i/

Phoneme allophones description and distribution. All front allophones are unrounded and voiced:

[i]	High close front vocoid. Occurs in nonword final, open stressed syllables.
[i]~[ɪ]	High close front vocoid fluctuates with high open front vocoid in open prestress syllables.
[i]~[e]	High close front vocoid fluctuates with mid close front vocoid in word final, open syllables.
[ɪ]~[ə]	High open front vocoid fluctuates with mid close central vocoid in word final poststress closed syllables ending in /r/.
[e]~[ɪ]	Mid open front vocoid fluctuates with high open front vocoid in Spanish and English loan words where <i>e</i> is written.
[ɪ]	High open front vocoid occurs in all closed syllables.
[i]	High close front vocoid occurs elsewhere.

Examples. Open syllables with nonword final stress:

['ʔi:.'hɪʔ]	/qíhiq/	'urine'
['hi:.'tʌʔ]	/hítaq/	'thigh'
['pri:.'to]	/prítu/	'fry' (Sp)
['si:.'pɪt]	/sípít/	'clasp under the arm'
['hi:.'pɪr]~['hi:.'pər]	/hípir/	'store/pack'
['ki:.'lɪr]~['ki:.'lər]	/kílir/	'underarm'

Examples. Closed syllables with nonword final stress:

['rɪŋ.'rɪŋ]	/ríŋrɪŋ/	'wall'
['bɪn.'hɔr]	/bínhur/	'feeling pins and needles'

Examples. Closed syllables with word final stress:

[ʔu]	/qit/	'ng particle'
[pak.'lus]	/paklís/	'peeling skin'
[ʔt.'put] ~ [ʔi.'put]	/qipít/	'hair clip'
[rɫ.'ʔɫn] ~ [ri.'ʔɫn]	/riqín/	'where?'

Examples. Prestress syllables:

[ʔi.'kaw] ~ [ʔt.'kaw]	/qikáw/	'you'
[ni.'dog] ~ [nɫ.'dog]	/nidúg/	'coconut'
[ʔt.'tom] ~ [ʔi.'tom]	/qitúm/	'black'

Examples. Poststress syllables:

[ka.'tri]	/kátri/	'bed' (Sp)
[gab.'ʔi] ~ [gab.'ʔe]	/gábqi/	'night'
[ka.'ba:.di] ~ [ka.'ba:.de]	/kabádi/	'woman'

The allophone [ɛ] occurs in Spanish and English loan words where the donor language use *e*, but in Bantoanon it fluctuates with the native pattern which uses the high open allophone [ɪ] in the same environment.

Examples of allophones [ɛ] ~ [ɪ]	[ɪ]:	
[ber.de] ~ [bɪr.de]	/bírdi/	'green' (Sp)
[pwe:.ra] ~ [pwɪ:.ra]	/pwíra/	'except' (Sp)
[mɛr.'ka:.do] ~ [mɪr.'ka:.do]	/mirkádu/	'market' (Sp)
[mi.'yɛn.tras] ~ [mi.'yɪn.tras]	/miyíntras/	'meanwhile' (Sp)

Note: There is one particle in Bantoanon which may be an occurrence of the front vowel preceding /y/ but the phonetic quality of this sequence is uncertain.

Orthographically it is already written *ey* 'already'. Example:

[ʔih] or [ʔiy] or [ʔeh] or [ʔey] /qiy/ 'already'

/a/

Phoneme allophones description and distribution. All central allophones are unrounded, voiced and open:

[a] ~ [ʌ] Low central vocoid fluctuates with mid central vocoid in closed syllables.

[a] Low central vocoid occurs elsewhere in all open syllables.

Examples. Open syllables with nonword final stress:

[ʔa:.ga]	/qága/	'morning'
[ba:.ta]	/báta/	'young'
[tra:.to]	/trátu/	'order' (Sp)
[ʔad.law] ~ [ʔʌd.law]	/qádlaw/	'day'

Examples. Closed syllables with nonword final stress:

['pak.pak] ~ ['pak.pak]	/pákpak/	'wing'
['ʔag.sam] ~ ['ʔag.sam]	/qágsam/	'graze'
['pan.ti] ~ ['pan.ti]	/pánti/	'fishhook'
['bak.tun] ~ ['bak.tun]	/báktin/	'pig'

Examples. Closed syllables with word final stress:

[ma.'tah]	/matá/	'eye'
[sak.'yan] ~ [sak.'yan]	/sakyán/	'ride'
[ba.'tag] ~ [ba.'tag]	/batág/	'banana'

Examples. Prestress syllables:

['ʔa.'gor]	/qagúr/	'so that'
[pak.'lis] ~ [pak.'lis]	/paklís/	'peeling skin'
[traŋ.'ka:so] ~ [traŋ.'ka:so]	/traŋkásu/	'fever' (Sp)

Examples. Poststress syllables:

['ʔa.'ba:ga]	/qabága/	'shoulder'
['sun.raŋ] ~ ['sun.raŋ]	/súnraŋ/	'bolo/bush knife'

/u/

Phoneme allophones description and distribution. All back allophones are rounded and voiced.:

[u] ~ [o]	High open vocoid fluctuates with mid close vocoid inclosed syllables and prestress open syllables.
[o]	Mid close vocoid occurs in word final open syllables.
[u]	High open vocoid occurs elsewhere.

Examples. Open syllables with nonword final stress:

['tu:biʔ]	/túbíq/	'water'
['pu:to]	/pútu/	'rice cake'
['ʔu:ba] ~ ['ʔu:ba]	/qúba/	'undress'

Examples. Closed syllables with nonword final stress:

['kut.kut] ~ ['kot.kot]	/kútkut/	'dig'
['bug.ton] ~ ['bog.ton]	/búgtun/	'only child'

Examples. Closed syllables with word final stress:

['ʔu.'boh] ~ ['ʔo.'boh]	/qubú/	'cough'
['ʔu.'nor] ~ ['ʔo.'nor]	/qunúr/	'contents'
[tug.'rok] ~ [tog.'rok]	/tugrúk/	'build'

Examples. Prestress syllables:

[pu.'toh]	/putú/	'youngest child'
[bu.'toŋ] ~ [bo.'toŋ]	/butúŋ/	'green coconut'
[ʔu.'yu:.nan] ~ [ʔo.'yu:.nan]	/quyúnan/	'pillow'

Examples. Poststress syllables:

[ʔsu:.so]	/súsu/	'breast'
[ʔsug.bo] ~ [ʔsog.bo]	/súgbu/	'(sun) sets'

3.2. Consonants

3.2.1. Consonant contrasts

The sixteen consonants are bilabial, alveolar, velar and glottal.

	bilabials	alveolars	velars	glottals
stops (voiceless)	p	t	k	ʔ
(voiced)	b	d	g	
fricatives		s		h
nasals	m	n	ŋ	
laterals		l		
vibrants		r		
semivowels	w	y		

The consonant phonemes contrast in the following words. Examples are listed in order of word initial, word medial and word final contrast:

Examples:			
p and b:	[pu.'noʔ]	/punúq/	'fill'
	[bu.'noʔ]	/bunúq/	'stab'
	[ʔʔam.pat]	/qámpuq/	'staunch a wound'
	[ʔʔam.bag]	/qámbuq/	'contribution'
	[hu.'yop]	/huyúp/	'blow'
	[ku.'yob]	/kuyúb/	'capsize'
b and w:	[ʔba:gi]	/bági/	'wheelbarrow'
	[ʔwa:git]	/wágit/	'lose'
	[ʔta:boʔ]	/tábuq/	'dipper'
	[ʔta:wo]	/táwu/	'person'
t and d:	[ʔsab.sab]	/sábsab/	'chew cud'
	[ʔsaw.saw]	/sáwsaw/	'dip in sauce'
	[ta.'mog]	/tamón/	'blanket'
	[da.'mot]	/damút/	'hand'

	['san.to]	/sántu/	'saint' (Sp)
	['san.do]	/sándu/	'singlet/vest'
	(nonword final contrast)		
	['pid.lit]	/pidlit/	'pinch'
d and r:	['da:wi]	/dáwi/	'key'
	['ra:wut]	/ráwit/	'pass something to someone'
	[pu.'don]	/pu'dúŋ/	'uncircumcised'
	[pu.'ron]	/pu'rúŋ/	'headscarf'
	(nonword final contrast)		
	['bar.bar]	/bárbar/	'wind up'
d and l:	['da:ti]	/dáti/	'formerly'
	['la:ta]	/láta/	'can/tin'
	['ban.da]	/bánda/	'somewhere near'
	['pun.laʔ]	/púnlaq/	'seedlings'
	(nonword final contrast)		
	[ba.'tɔl]	/batíl/	'sailing boat'
t and s:	['ta:ʔob]	/táqub/	'high tide'
	['sa:ʔob]	/sáqub/	'houseclothing'
	['bug.toʔ]	/búgtuq/	'break/snap'
	['rug.soʔ]	/rúgsuq/	'kind of fish'
	[pa.'ʔu:]	/paqít/	'bitter'
	[ma.'ʔɪs]	/maqís/	'corn'
k and g:	['ku:yaŋ]	/kúyaŋ/	'inadequate'
	['gu:yaŋ]	/gúyaŋ/	'sow'
	[bak.'tin]	/baktín/	'pig'
	[bag.'tɪŋ]	/bagtín/	'bell'
	['sa:bak]	/sábak/	'pregnant'
	['sa:bag]	/sábag/	'dry roast'
k and q:	['kay.do]	/káydu/	'cook rice'
	['ʔay.ho]	/qáyhu/	'pestle'
	['bug.kos]	/búgkus/	'bundle'
	['bug.ʔos]	/búgqus/	'whole'

	['sa:.bʌk]	/sábak/	'pregnant'
	['sa:.pʌʔ]	/sápaq/	'river'
k and h:	['ka:.da]	/káda/	'every'
	['ha:.dag]	/hádag/	'bright'
	['kot:.kot]	/kútkut/	'dig'
	['hot:.hot]	/húthut/	'take advantage of'
g and ŋ:	[pi:.lʌk]	/pilák/	'throw out'
	[pi:.lah]	/pilá/	'how much'
	['gu:.sok]	/gúsuk/	'rib'
	['ŋu:.soʔ]	/ŋúsúq/	'upper lip'
	['bʌg.yo]	/bágyu/	'typhoon'
	['bʌŋ.yo]	/báŋyu/	'fragrant'
	[kʌg]	/kag/	'ang particle'
	[kʌŋ]	/kaŋ/	'for/to'
q and zero:	[ʔʌg]	/qag/	'and'
	(nonword initial contrast)		
	[muʔ.muʔ]	/múqmuq/	'to push face into s.t.'
	['mu:.muʔ]	/múmuq/	'spook'
	['ʔa:.moq]	/qámuq/	'our'
	['ʔa:.mo]	/qámu/	'landlord'
	[ʔa:.'moʔ]	/qamúq/	'monkey'
	[ha:.'mo]	/hamú/	'diaper'
q and h:	[ʔa:.'moʔ]	/qamúq/	'monkey'
	[ha:.'mo]	/hamú/	'diaper'
	[ʔa:.'moʔ]	/múqmuq/	'to push face into s.t.'
	[ʔa:.'moʔ]	/múhmu/	'crumbs'
	[ʔa:.'pʌʔ]	/qapáq/	'mute/dumb'
	[ʔu:.'pah]	/qupá/	'chaff'
	[hi:.'mʌʔ]	/hímaq/	'dirt in folds of skin'
	[si:.'mʌʔ]	/símaq/	'barb of arrow'
	[ru:.'hah]	/ruhá/	'two'
	[ʔu:.'sa:]	/qusá/	'one'
	[li:.'mah]	/limá/	'five'
	[li:.'mas]	/limás/	'bail water'

s and y:	['sa:.yʌʔ]	/sáyaq/	'sift'
	['ya:.ya]	/yáya/	'weave'
	['paŋ.so]	/páŋsu/	'smell of urine'
	[baŋ.'yo]	/baŋyú/	'fragrant'
m and n:	['pas.pas]	/páspas/	'hurry'
	['pay.pay]	/paypay/	'wave something'
	[man]	/man/	'too'
	[naŋ]	/nan/	'older woman'
n and ŋ:	['ʔa.mak-]	/qamát/	'to kindle a fire'
	['ʔa.'nak-]	/qanát/	'child'
	[ta.'yom]	/tayúm/	'sharp'
	[ta.'yon]	/tayún/	'leap'
l and r:	['na:.naʔ]	/nánaq/	'pus'
	[ŋa.'ŋa:]	/ŋaŋá/	'open your mouth'
	['ʔa:.naɣ]	/qánay/	'termites'
	['ʔa:.ŋaɣ]	/qáŋay/	'suitable clothes'
l and r:	['pan.pan]	/pánpan/	'slope towards'
	['paŋ.paŋ]	/páŋpaŋ/	'cliff'
	['lu:.ɣay]	/lúgay/	'unbraided hair'
	['ru:.ɣay]	/rúgay/	'long time'
l and w:	['ʔtun.lan]	/katúnlan/	'rest one's head on'
	['sun.raŋ]	/súnraŋ/	'bolo/bush knife'
	[ta.'bul]	/tabíl/	'talkative'
	['ka:.pɪr]	/kápir/	'twin'
l and w:	['liʔ.liʔ]	/líqliq/	'peep'
	['wil.wil]	/wílwil/	'to hang loose'
	['ʔi.'lag]	/qilág/	'draw back'
	['ʔi.'wag]	/qiwág/	'light a lamp'
l and w:	['sin.sil]	/sínsil/	'to chisel'
	['ʔi.'sɪw]	/qisíw/	'chick'

l and y:	['la:yas]	/láyas/	'to run away'
	['ya:ya]	/yáya/	'weave'
	['ban.las]	/bánlas/	'landslide'
	['bun.yag]	/búnyag/	'water plants'
	[bu.'sal]	/busál/	'muzzle'
	[bu.'say]	/busáy/	'waterfall'

3.2.2 Consonant phonemes

The bilabial, alveolar and velar stops have voiceless and voiced phonemes.

Stops: /p/ /b/

Phoneme allophone description and distribution. (These bilabial allophones are all voiceless):

/p/	[p]	Unaspirated unreleased stop occurs syllable final.
	[p]~[pʰ]	Unaspirated released stop fluctuates with the aspirated released stop word initial.
	[p]	Unaspirated released stop occurs elsewhere.

[ta.'hop]	/tahúp/	'winnow'
[pu.'tɔ:]~[pʰu.'tɔ:]	/putú/	'youngest sibling'
[ta.'pat]	/tapát/	'faithful'

Phoneme allophone description and distribution.

/b/	[b]	Voiced bilabial unaspirated stop occurs syllable initial and syllable final.
-----	-----	--

The two bilabial stops /p/ and /b/ contrast in minimal or near minimal pairs of words.

Examples. Word initial:

[pu.'noʔ]	/punúq/	'fill'
[bu.'noʔ]	/bunúq/	'stab'
['pu:to]	/pútuq/	'rice cake'
['bu:toʔ]	/bútuq/	'penis'

Examples. Word medial:

['ha:poʔ]	/hápuq/	'breathless'
['ta:boʔ]	/tábuq/	'dipper'
[ʔap:.'ʔat]	/qapqát/	'four'
[ka.'tab.ʔʌŋ]	/katábqan/	'tasteless'

Examples. Word final:

[hu.'yop]	/huyúp/	'blow'
[ku.'yob]	/kuyúb/	'capsize'
[ta.'hop]	/tahúp/	'winnow'
['tak.yob]	/tákyub/	'lid'

Stops: /t/ /d/

Phoneme allophone description and distribution. These alveodental allophones are all voiceless:

/t/	[t]	Unaspirated unreleased stop occurs syllable final.
	[t] ~ [tʰ]	Unaspirated released stop fluctuates with an aspirated released stop word initial.
	[t]	Unaspirated released stop occurs elsewhere.

['but:but]	/bíbit/	'carry in hand'
['ta:wo] ~ ['tʰa:wo]	/táwu/	'person'
['pa:to]	/pátu/	'duck'

Phoneme allophone description and distribution

/d/	[d]	Voiced alveodental unaspirated stop occurs syllable initial and syllable final, though not word final.
-----	-----	--

The two alveodental stops /t/ and /d/ contrast in minimal and near minimal pairs of words.

Examples. Word initial:

['ta:wo]	/táwu/	'person'
['da:wi]	/dáwi/	'key'
[ta.'moŋ]	/tamúŋ/	'blanket'
[da.'mot]	/damút/	'hand'

Examples. Word medial:

[ba.'toh]	/batú/	'stone'
[ba.'doh]	/badú/	'pound'
['san.to]	/sántu/	'saint'
['san.do]	/sándu/	'singlet/vest'
['but:but]	/bíbit/	'carry in hand'
['bad.log]	/bádlug/	'kind of fish'

Stops: /k/ /g/

Phoneme allophone description and distribution. These velar allophones are all voiceless:

/k/	[k]	Unreleased stop occurs syllable final.
	[k] ~ [k ^h]	Unaspirated released stop fluctuates with velar aspirated released stop word initial.
	[k]	Unaspirated released stop occurs elsewhere.

['pak.pak]	/pakpak/	'wing'
['ku:.to] ~ ['k ^h u:.to]	/kútu/	'louse'
['taŋ.koʔ]	/táŋku/	'hit one's head'

Phoneme allophone description and distribution

/g/	[g]	Voiced velar unaspirated stop occurs syllable initial and syllable final.
-----	-----	---

The two velar stops /k/ and /g/ contrast in minimal or near minimal pairs of words.

Examples. Word initial:

['ku:.yaŋ]	/kúyaŋ/	'inadequate'
['gu:.yaŋ]	/gúyaŋ/	'sow'
[ki.'naʔ]	/kináq/	'that'
[gi.'nɪŋ]	/ginín/	'water pot'

Examples. Word medial:

['ʔu.'kɔw]	/qúkaw/	'shout'
['lu:.gɔw]	/lúgaw/	'porridge'
['bak.tɪn]	/báktin/	'pig'
['bag.tɪŋ]	/bágtin/	'bell'

Examples. Word final:

['sa:.bak]	/sábak/	'pregnant'
['sa:.bag]	/sábag/	'dry roast'
[ya.'tɪk]	/yatík/	'make coconut oil'
['ka:.tɪŋ]	/kátig/	'outrigger'

Stop: /q/

Phoneme allophone description and distribution

[ʔ]	Voiceless glottal stop occurs syllable initial and syllable final.
-----	--

The voiceless glottal stop is contrasted with other voiceless phonemes /t/, /k/, /h/ and /zero/ its own absence in the following examples. It does not contrast with its own absence syllable initial.

Examples. Word initial:

['ʔay.ho]	/qáyhu/	'pestle'
['tay.bo]	/táybu/	'dust'
['kay.do]	/káydu/	'cook rice'
['hay.boʔ]	/háybuq/	'eat greedily'

Examples. Word medial:

[bu.'ʔaŋ]	/buqáŋ/	'crazy'
[bu.'taŋ]	/butáŋ/	'put'
[tu.'kaŋ]	/tukáŋ/	'a prop'
[ru.'haŋ]	/ruháŋ/	'two'
['bug.ʔat]	/búgqat/	'heavy'
['bug.ton]	/búgtun/	'only child'
['bug.kos]	/búgkus/	'bundle'
['bug.hat]	/búghat/	'relapse'
['muʔ.muʔ]	/múqmuq/	'to push face into s.t.'
['but.but]	/bútbut/	'hernia'
['buk.buk]	/búkbuk/	'wood borer'
['muh.muh]	/múhmu/	'crumbs'
['mu:.muʔ]	/múmuq/	'spook'

Examples. Word final:

['sa:.paʔ]	/sápaq/	'river'
[sa.'bat]	/sabát/	'answer'
['sa:.bak]	/sábak/	'pregnant'
['ʔu.'pah]	/qupá/	'chaff'
['ʔa:.pa]	/qápa/	'ice cream cone'
['ʔa.'paʔ]	/qapáq/	'mute/dumb'
['bi:.kaʔ]	/bíkaq/	'legs apart'
['bi:.kat]	/bíkat/	'aboard'
['ha:.gak]	/hágak/	'asthma'
[bi.'kah]	/bíká/	'cracked'
['bi:.ka]	/bíka/	'split open'

Fricatives: /s/ /h/

Phoneme allophones description and distribution. These fricative allophones are all grooved:

/s/	[ʃ]	Voiceless alveopalatal fricative occurs following the voiceless alveodental stop /t/.
	[ʒ]	Voiced alveopalatal fricative occurs following the voiced alveodental stop /d/.
	[s]	Voiceless alveolar fricative occurs elsewhere (syllable initial and syllable final).

The affricate sequences occur word medial and in some word initial positions, but since the majority seem to be loan words from languages such as English and Tagalog, and since there are no other unambiguous syllable patterns allowing a CC sequence in native Bantoanon, these have been treated as loan word additions.

Examples:

['tʃamba]	/tsám̥ba/	'luck'
['dʒaryo]	/dsáryo/	'newspaper'
['tʃupa]	/tsúpa/	'cup measure'
['dʒip]	/dsip/	'jeep' (Eng)

Sometimes the alveolar allophone [s] sounds more like the alveopalatal allophone [ʃ] but it is a feature of different ideolects. The voiceless alveolar fricative /s/ is contrasted with the voiceless alveodental stop /t/ in the following examples.

Examples. Word initial:

['sam.bo]	/sámbu/	'foster a child'
['tam.paʔ]	/támpa/	'slap one's face'
['sa:ʔob]	/sáqub/	'housedress'
['ta:ʔob]	/táqub/	'high tide'

Examples. Word medial:

['rug.soʔ]	/rúgsuq/	'kind of fish'
['bug.toʔ]	/búgtuq/	'break/snap'
[lut.ʔon]	/litsún/	'roast pig'
[bad.ʔaŋ]	/badsán/	'never mind'
['ha:səŋ]	/hásaŋ/	'gills'
['bɔt.ʃag]	/bátsag/	'feel inside'
[tad.ʔaw]	/tadsáw/	'large water pot'
['ba:sag]	/básag/	'break/smash'
['lap.sag]	/lápsag/	'infant'

Examples. Word final:

[ma.ʔts]	/maqís/	'corn'
[pa.ʔt]	/paqít/	'bitter'

Phoneme allophone description and distribution

/h/	[h]	Voiceless glottal fricative occurs syllable initial and syllable final.
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The glottal fricative /h/ occurs word final when no other consonant occurs. However when the word final syllable is unstressed the presence of /h/ is so light that it has not been written in this phonetic transcription. When the word final syllable is stressed the friction is stronger, and though it has been written in the phonetic data given in this paper, it has been interpreted as a feature associated with stress.

The fricative /h/, and /s/ are contrasted in the following words.

Examples. Word initial:

['hi:waʔ]	/híwaq/	'slice'
['si:paʔ]	/sípaq/	'kick'

Examples. Word medial:

['ʔi:.haw]	/qíhaw/	'slaughter'
[ki:.'saw]	/kisáw/	'reflex movement'
[ru:.'hah]	/ruhá/	'two'
[ʔu:.'sah]	/qusá/	'one'
['muh.muh]	/múhmu/	'crumbs'
['mus.mus]	/músmus/	'make a face'

Examples. Word final:

[li:.'mah]	/limá/	'five'
[li:.'mas]	/limás/	'bail water'

The fricative /h/ is contrasted with voiceless consonants /q/ and /k/ in the following words.

Examples. Word initial:

['hi:waʔ]	/híwaq/	'slice'
['ʔi:laʔ]	/qílaq/	'envy'
['ki:lay]	/kílay/	'eyebrow'

Examples. Word medial:

['ʔu:.haw]	/qúhaw/	'thirst'
[yu:.'ʔaw]	/yuqáw/	'appear/come out'
[ʔu:.'kaw]	/qúkaw/	'shout'

Examples. Word final:

['muh.muh]	/múhmu/	'crumbs'
['muʔ.muʔ]	/múqmuq/	'to push face into something'
['muk.muk]	/múkmuk/	'full mouth'

Nasals: /m/ /n/ /ŋ/

Phoneme allophones description and distribution. All nasal allophones are voiced:

/m/	[m]	Bilabial nasal occurs syllable initial and syllable final.
/n/	[n]	Alveolar nasal occurs syllable initial and syllable final.
/ŋ/	[ŋ]	Velar nasal occurs syllable initial and syllable final.

The nasals /m/, /n/ and /ŋ/ are contrasted in the following words.

Examples. Word initial:

['ma:.may]	/mámay/	'Mommy'
['na:.moʔ]	/námuq/	'our (exclusive)'
['ŋa:.sɪŋ]	/ŋásɪŋ/	'today/now'
[man]	/man/	'too'
[naŋ]	/naŋ/	'older woman'
['ŋa:.yan]	/ŋáyan/	'name'

Examples. Word medial:

['ʔa:.mat-]	/qámat/	'start to leave'
['ʔa:.nat-]	/qánat/	'follow/go later'
['ʔa:.ŋat-]	/qáŋat/	'raise'
['tam.ʔɪs]	/támqɪs/	'sweet'
['tan.ʔa]	/tánqa/	'hope to'
['daŋ.ʔɪt-]	/dángqɪt/	'eel'

Examples. Word final:

['rim.rɪm]	/rímrɪm/	'sip'
['tɪn.tɪn]	/tíntɪn/	'constantly moving'
['rɪŋ.rɪŋ]	/ríŋrɪŋ/	'wall'
[ta.'yom]	/tayúm/	'sharp'
[ta.'yon]	/tayún/	'leap'
[ta.'yɔŋ]	/tayúŋ/	'eggplant'

Lateral: /l/

Phoneme allophones description and distribution

[l] Voiced alveolar lateral occurs syllable initial and syllable final.

The lateral /l/ is not commonly found syllable final.

Vibrant: /r/

Phoneme allophones description and distribution. These vibrant allophones are all voiced and follow other voiced allophones when they occur in sequence:

- [ɾ] ~ [dɾ] Alveolar flapped vibrant fluctuates with the sequence of alveodental stop followed by alveolar flapped vibrant following alveolar nasal /n/.
- [ɾ] ~ [r] Alveolar flapped vibrant fluctuates with the alveolar trilled vibrant syllable initial and syllable final.

The fluctuation of allophones [ɾ] and [dɾ] seem to be the result of ideolects. The flapped allophone [ɾ] is the most frequently heard allophone. The occurrences of the allophones of /r/ are illustrated in the following words in word initial, word medial and word final positions.

[fi.'lih] ~ [fi.'lih]	/rilí/	'here'
['paʔ.ti] ~ ['paʔ.ti]	/párti/	'share'
['tʃa:.po]	/trápu/	'rag/cloth' (Sp)
[tʃaŋ.'ka:.so]	/traŋkásu/	'fever' (Sp)
['ʔɪn.ʃa] ~ ['ʔɪn.dʃa]	/qínra/	'their'
['li:.gʌʔ] ~ ['li:.gʌʔ]	/lígar/	'roll'

The following words illustrate the contrasts between the lateral /l/ and the vibrant /r/.

Examples. Word initial:

['lu:.gay]	/lúgay/	'unbraided hair'
['ʔu:.gay]	/rúgay/	'long time'
[li.'lɪp]	/lilíp/	'to hemstitch'
[fi.'lih]	/rilí/	'here'

Examples. Word medial:

['gul.pi]	/gúlpi/	'suddenly'
['tuʔ.pi]	/túrpi/	'stupid'
['pal.ta]	/pálta/	'absent'
['paʔ.ti]	/párti/	'share'
[ka.'tun.lan]	/katúnlan/	'throat'
['sun.ʃaŋ]	/súnraŋ/	'bolo/bush knife'
['pun.la]	/púnla/	'seedlings'
['sɪn.ʃa] ~ ['sɪn.dʃa]	/sínra/	'they'

Examples. Word final:

[ba.'tɪ]	/batíl/	'sailing boat'
[ha.'tɪ]	/hatír/	'protruding stomach'
['hi:.mɪ]	/hímil/	'touch/handle'
['ʔu:.mɪ]	/qúmir/	'do for someone'

Examples. Second member of consonant cluster:

[plaŋ.'ga:.na]	/plangána/	'large basin' (Sp)
[tʃaŋ.'ka:.so]	/traŋkásu/	'fever' (Sp)
['pli:.ti]	/plíti/	'fare' (Sp)
['pʃi:.to]	/prítu/	'fry' (Sp)

Semivowels: /w/ /y/

Phoneme allophones description and distribution. These nonsyllabic allophones are all voiced, high and close:

/w/	[w]	Back rounded nonsyllabic vocoid occurs syllable initial and syllable final (bilabial vocoid).
/y/	[y]	Front unrounded nonsyllabic vocoid occurs syllable initial and syllable final (palatal vocoid).

The two semivowels /w/ and /y/ have been interpreted as consonants on the basis of unambiguous syllable patterns. The bilabial vocoid is /w/ and the palatal vocoid is /y/. There is only one occurrence of a vowel of the same height and frontness preceding the semivowel with the same height and frontness. This is the previously stated example of the particle [ʔey] /qiy/ 'already'. Other than this, /y/ never closes a syllable which has /i/ in the nucleus, and /w/ never closes a syllable which has /u/ as its nucleus. The semivowels are contrasted in the following words.

Examples. Word initial:

['wa:stk]	/wásik/	'sprinkle'
['ya:stk]	/yásik/	'go beyond reach'

Examples. Word medial:

['ta:wo]	/táwu/	'person'
['ba:yo]	/báyú/	'widow(er)'
['taw.ga]	/táwga/	'call someone'
['tay.bo]	/táybu/	'dust'

Examples. Word final:

['ki:lɔw]	/kílaw/	'to eat raw'
['ki:lɔy]	/kílay/	'eyebrow'
[ʔi:'sɪw]	/qísíw/	'chick'
['puy.puy]	/púypuy/	'to tap'

3.3 Stress

There is contrastive stress in Bantoanon. It is manifested as length on the vowel nucleus of open syllables, but in closed syllables the prominence is usually voice emphasis or loudness. In word final open syllables the vowel has a breathy quality similar to length but phonologically sounding like a vowel followed by [h]. This [h] has been written in the phonetic transcription used in this paper, and even though [h] is a phoneme in Bantoanon, this particular [h] is interpreted as a feature of stress. The only case where this might be questioned is where there is reduplication of syllables ending in [h] such as ['muh.muh] /múhmu/ 'crumbs'. Such a syllable final word medial occurrence of /h/ is rare, but it does occur. Also when words ending in an open syllable (with a phonetic [h] word final) are affixed an /h/ will occur.

A pitch difference is not consistent. Sometimes the whole syllable is also lengthened or there is a slowing of the speed so that the syllables appear so similar that it is hard to distinguish which one is stressed. This difficulty is more noticeable with words of two closed syllables. The contrasting stress is illustrated in the following words.

['tu:kob]	/túkub/	'devour'
[tu:'kob]	/tukúb/	'strike of a snake'
['ki:tɔʔ]	/kítaq/	'see'
[ki:'tɔh]	/kitá/	'we (inclusive)'
['ʔu:bos]	/qúbus/	'used up'
[ʔu:'bos]	/qubús/	'down below'
['si:put]	/sípit/	'to clasp under one's arm'
[si:'put]	/sipít/	'clothespin'

4. Residue

Numerous consonant clusters appear as a result of the widespread incorporation of loan words into the language. The clusters are combinations which have various consonants as the first member, excluding /q/, /ŋ/, /w/ and /y/. The second member is restricted to /l/, /r/, /s/, /w/ and /y/.

Words having /l/ as the second member of a cluster are exemplified in the following:

pl	[plaŋ.'ga:na]	/plangána/	'large basin'
	['plan.tsa]	/plántsa/	'iron'
bl	[blaŋ.'ki:ti]	/blaŋkíti/	'talcum powder'
	['blaŋ.ko]	/bláŋku/	'blank'
kl	['kla:ro]	/kláru/	'clear (understanding)'
	['kla:si]	/klási/	'class/kind'

Words having /r/ as the second member of a cluster are exemplified in the following:

pr	['pri:to]	/prítu/	'fry'
br	['bra:so]	/brásu/	'upperarm'
tr	[tra.'ba:ho]	/trabáhu/	'work'
dr	['dra:ma]	/dráma/	'a play'
kr	['kru:tal]	/krístal/	'glass'
gr	['gri:po]	/grípu/	'faucet'

Words having /w/ as the second member of a cluster are exemplified in the following:

pw	['pwe:ra]	/pwíra/	'except'
bw	['bwil.ta]	/bwíltá/	'to return somewhere'
kw	['kwar.ta]	/kwárta/	'money'
gw	['gwa:po]	/gwápu/	'handsome'
sw	['swel.do]	/swíldu/	'wages/salary'

Words having /y/ as the second member of a cluster are exemplified in the following:

py	['lum.pyo]	/límpyu/	'clean'
by	['byer.nes]	/byírnis/	'Friday'
ty	['tyem.po] ~ ['tšem.po]	/tyímpu/	'time'
dy	['dyaŋ.yo] ~ ['džaŋ.yo]	/dyáryu/	'newspaper'
sy	['syɛŋ.to]	/syírtu/	'certain/sure'
my	['myen.tʃas]	/myíntas/	'meanwhile'

Words having /s/ as the second member may be affricates in the donor language but are reinterpreted using Bantoanon phonemes. In Bantoanon there is little difference between /ty/ and the affricate tʃ/ch, and between /dy/ and the affricate dʒ/j. The voiceless alveolar affricate [tʃ] is reinterpreted as /ts/.

ts	['ʔi.'tʃah] ~ ['ʔu.'tʃah]	/qitsá/	'throw'
	['maŋ.tʃa]	/mártsa/	'march'
	['tʃu:pa]	/tsúpa/	'cup measure'
	['tʃa:niʔ]	/tsániq/	'tweezers'

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The voiced alveolar affricate [dʒ] is reinterpreted as /dy/.

dy	[dʒis]	/dyis/	'ten'
	[dʒip]	/dyip/	'jeep'
	[ta.'dʒoŋ] ~ [tad.'ʒoŋ]	/tadyúŋ/	'long wraparound skirt'

The syllable initial consonant clusters also result in word medial three member clusters which are not found in native Bantoanon words. Only a few examples have been elicited so far.

['myen.tʃas]	/myíntras/	'meanwhile'
[ʔis.plt.'kaʃ]	/qisplíkár/	'explain'
['lum.pyo]	/lúmpyu/	'clean'
['plan.tʃa]	/plánʃa/	'iron'

There is only one syllable final consonant cluster which has been elicited so far. This is also a Spanish loan word, and the first member is the semivowel /y/.

['per.daym]	/pírdaym/	'amount'
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A Preliminary Study of Demonstratives in Aklanon Narratives

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Abbreviations and symbols

ACT	actor
ADJ	adjective
CMP	completed action
DEC	deictic
DEM	demonstrative
DEM1	demonstrative near speaker
DEM2	demonstrative near speaker and listener
DEM3	demonstrative near listener
DEM4	demonstrative far from speaker and listener
EMPH	emphatic
ENU	enumerative
EX	exclusive
EXC	exclamation
EXT	existential
EXP	explanatory

I	focus
FUT	future
G	genitive
GER	gerund
IN	inclusive
INV	involuntary
LIG	ligature
MP	mercy particle
N	noun
NEG	negative
NF	nonfocus
NH	noun head
NP	noun phrase
OBV	obvious
OC	occupation
OF	object focus
PL	plural
PO	possessive
PTM	past time marker
Q	question
QT	quotative
REF	referent
SG	singular
SURP	surprise
TM	time marker
1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
.	compound gloss
=	morpheme boundary in vernacular or gloss line
:	cannot distinguish morpheme boundary
,	semantic/grammatical components
+	phonologically bound
-	glottal stop
/	alternate related meanings
()	optional

0. Introduction

According to Lakoff (1974:345), there are three major uses of demonstratives. They can be indicators of spatiotemporal deixis, indicators of discourse deixis, and indicators of what she terms emotional deixis.

Spatiotemporal deixis refers to the location and identification of people, places or things in relation to real time and space. (Lyons 1977:636).

Discourse deixis refers to the way demonstratives function in a text. Within any uttered text their function is to produce cohesion by marking emphasis or prominence, and by referring backward or forward to nouns, phrases or clauses in the text. The use of demonstratives is not bound by strict rules of spatial location.

Lakoff (1974:347) uses the term emotional deixis to describe demonstratives which create in the hearer a sense of closeness, participation or emotional involvement with the subject of the discourse. Emotional deixis gives greater vividness to the narrative as well. Lakoff (ibid:352) notes that some languages have a third demonstrative in addition to the English 'this' and 'that', one which is spatially nearer the listener. Spanish *ese* (vs. *este*, *aquel*); Latin *iste* (vs. *hic*, *is/ille*) are examples of this type. Often, as in Latin, it acquires a contemptuous force:

(1) *Quam diu etiam furur iste tuus nos eludet?*

How much longer will
that madness of yours
mock us?

This form appears to establish emotional solidarity between the two participants in the conversation by implying that they both share the same views toward the subject.

Halliday and Hasan (1976:61) refer to emotional connotations of some demonstratives in terms of proximity. One kind of proximity can be interpreted as something which is explicitly linked to the personal feelings of speaker and listener. Thus, in conversational narrative a speaker would tend to use the demonstrative 'this', which would convey to the hearer not only a sense of immediacy, but a sense of solidarity, shared interest and attention as well.

The purpose of this paper is to make some preliminary statements about the spatiotemporal, discourse and emotional or connotative functions of demonstratives in Aklanon¹ narrative discourse.

The demonstrative system of Aklanon in terms of the spatial relation between the speaker and hearer is discussed in section 1. The discourse functions of demonstratives are discussed in section 2. Halliday (1976) observes that in English demonstratives are broadly grouped as either exophoric (having coreferents outside the text) or endophoric (having coreferents within the text). The syntactic pointing of a demonstrative is in part related to its position preceding or following a noun head. This syntactic pointing is discussed in section 3. Some preliminary comments about the connotative or emotive functions of the demonstratives are discussed in section 4.

1. Demonstrative system

Demonstratives in Aklanon may be classified into four categories according to the proximity of the referent in relation to the speaker and the hearer. The referent of the demonstrative may be proximate (near the speaker and near the hearer), medial (a short distance from the speaker and hearer), near hearer (near the hearer but not near the speaker), or distal (far from speaker and far from hearer). In literal pointing, both proximate and medial forms are within sight of both the speaker and the listener. The near hearer forms refer to things that are out of sight of the speaker but within sight of the hearer. The distal form in literal pointing refers to things which are out of sight of both the speaker and the hearer. Figure 1 summarizes the demonstrative system in Aklanon:

¹ Aklanon is spoken by approximately 350,000 people living in the province of Aklan located on the northwestern shore of the island of Panay in the central Philippines. The language belongs to the Southern Meso-Western Visayan family of languages (Walton 1977).

The texts used in this paper were collected by Kristine Jensen between 1983 and 1987 while periodically in residence in Kalibo, Aklan under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. The analysis was done at a discourse workshop held by the same institute in 1987 at Bagabag, Nueva Viscaya, under the leadership of Dr. Michael R. Walrod.

Six texts were analyzed in this study. There were three first-person narratives: (1) The Vampire Person, (2) Pet of an *Inkanto* and (3) The Head Sitting on the Trail. There were three formal storytelling accounts: (4) The Monkey and the Turtle, (5) The Origin of the Vampire Person and (6) Why the Jellyfish Has No Bones. Texts 1-5 were transcribed from a tape recording and Text 6 was elicited in written form.

	DEM1	DEM2	DEM3	DEM4
Topic forms	<i>raya/daya</i> (<i>rondaya/</i> <i>dondaya</i>)	<i>ruyon/duyon</i> (<i>ronduyon/</i> <i>donduyon</i>)	<i>rana/dana/ran(h)a</i> (<i>rondana/</i> <i>dondana</i>)	<i>rato/dato</i> (<i>rondato/</i> <i>dondato</i>)
Enclitic form	<i>ra</i>	<i>ron/don</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>to</i>
Pointing form	<i>hara</i>	<i>haron</i>	<i>hana</i>	<i>hato</i>
Emphatic form	<i>mawyaya</i> <i>mawra</i>	<i>mawruyon</i> (<i>mawron</i>)	<i>mawrana</i>	<i>mawrato</i>
Nontopic form	<i>kara</i>	<i>karon</i>	<i>kana</i>	<i>kuto</i>

Figure 1. Summary of the demonstrative system in Aklanon.

- DEM1: Proximate, near to speaker and near to hearer, visible to both.
 DEM2: Medial, a short distance from the speaker and hearer, visible to both.
 DEM3: Near hearer, nearer to the hearer than to the speaker, visible to hearer but not to speaker.
 DEM4: Distal, far from the speaker and hearer, not visible to either.

1.1 Topic forms

The topic NP of any clause may be realized by any one of the topic enclitic, pointing or emphatic demonstratives. The variation in the forms is a morphophonemic variation. The form with *r-* initial occurs following a vowel, as well as sentence initial. The form with *d-* initial occurs elsewhere. *Raya* 'this' is definite by being present in the situation and as the distance between the speaker and object increases the medial, near listener and distal forms are used.

In example 2 *raya* 'this' substitutes for the focused NP (Zorc 1969:161):

- (2) *Raya ro akon nga handom.* This is my ambition.
 this F my LIG ambition

1.2 Pointing forms

Pointing forms are used by the speaker when he is actually pointing to an object. With the proximate form, the object referred to is very near to the hearer. When the object is farther away the other forms are used. Pointing forms always occur sentence initial. One important constraint, however, exists with the use of pointing forms. The referent must be an item that was previously mentioned in the text. Example 3 is an illustration of this:

- (3) *Hara ro papel nga akon nga ginausoy kaina.* This is the paper I was
 this F paper LIG I LIG OF,look.for early looking for earlier.

1.3 Emphatic forms

Emphatic forms are used when the listener responds to something the speaker has said, or wants to draw a conclusion about what the speaker has said. They can also have an evaluative connotation with their use. *Mawra*, *mawrana* and *mawrato* in a nonevaluative sense are not used much by young people. Instead they use the topic forms *raya*, *ruyon* and *rato*. But *mawron* in its evaluative sense is used by the younger generation. Example 4 illustrates the evaluative use of *mawron*:

- (4) *Mawron ro imong habuoe² kon gapueaw.*
 that.is.what F you OF,get if stay.up.late

That is what you get if
 you stay up late.

These forms are the results of combining the third person singular personal pronoun, *imaw* and the enclitic demonstrative *ron* and dropping the *i*. So the meaning is something like 'it/that', 'that is what' or 'that is why'.

Example 5 illustrates the use of *mawron* in its nonevaluative sense the way the older generation still uses it:

- (5) *Hay maw-ron do gina-singhan nga maw-ron do gina-halin-an*
 EX that.is.why F say LIG that.is.what F origin

That is why it is said that
 that is the origin of vam-
 pires.

it aswang.

G vampire.person

1.4 Enclitic forms

The enclitic forms are phonologically bound to ligatures, *nga* + *ra* 'LIG' + 'this' or to pronouns *sanda* + *ra* 'they' + 'this'. When they are bound to a ligature they always follow the head noun:

- (6) *Tag idto eon imaw sa ibabaw, "Ya-anay mana Pare*
 PTM there already 3,SG,F REF top EXP QT Friend

When he got to the top,
 he said, "Just a little
 while Friend Turtle, I'll
 try this banana first to see
 if it tastes good."

Ba-o ha, samit-an ko anay mana ro saging ngara kon
 Turtle EXP taste 1,SG,NF EXP QT F banana DEM1,DEC if/when

manami."

taste.good

When the enclitic is bound to a pronoun as in the following, the pronoun together with the enclitic realize the topic of the clause in a cleft construction:

- (7) *Sandara hay maeupot nga mag-amigo.*
 3,PL,F DEM1 INV close/intimate LIG friend

They were very close
 friends.

In example 8, *ron* refers to the tree just previously mentioned:

- (8) *Isaea-ng bes sa ana-ng gina-kaingn-an may sang-puno nga*
 one-LIG time REF his-LIG OF,INC/slash.burn-__ EXT one-tree LIG

Once in his slashburn
 farm there was a big, tall
 tree. He tried (or at-
 tempted) to cut that down.

ma-bahoe ag ma-taas nga kahoy. Ana ron nga gin-tinguha-an nga
 ADJ-big and ADJ-tall LIG tree 3,SG,ACT DEM2 LIG attempt LIG

taps-on.

cut

1.5 Nontopic forms

Nontopic forms substitute for nonfocused NPs in clauses. They are used anaphorically and refer to items in the immediately preceding context. In example 9 Monkey refuses to accompany Jellyfish unless he explains the reason for his trip. Jellyfish then tells Monkey that a monkey liver is what is needed to cure the queen. When Monkey hears this he claims to have left his liver behind. The referent of *this* is the statement of Jellyfish about the need for a monkey liver:

² In the Aklanon orthography the voiced velar fricative /g/ and the vowel /e/ are both represented by the letter *e*. This dual use of the *e* dates back almost 350 years to Spanish times and is one of the things considered by Aklanons to give their language its distinctiveness.

- (9) *Sa anang pagka-bati kara hay h-um-ambae si Amo, "Ata*
 REF his hear **this** INV speak F Monkey, Oh!
mana owa mana niya rang atay."
 QT NEG QT here my liver
 Upon hearing **this**, the
 Monkey said, "Oh! my
 liver is not here."

Nontopic demonstratives can also refer to objects or locations (Zorc 1969:163):

- (10) *Nag-obra ako kato.* I made that.
 past-made I **that**
 (11) *Masucat ka kara?* Will you write **this**?
 FUT-write you **this**
 (12) *Nag-adto ako kato.* I went **there**.
 past-go I **there**

2. Discourse function of Aklanon demonstratives

In a spoken or written text the literal pointing function of demonstratives to objects in the real world is superseded by their referencing function. Reference is one type of cohesive element which binds a text together. Halliday (1977:31) speaks of reference as the "specific type of information that is signalled for retrieval." A demonstrative refers back to another thing, time, place or person for its meaning. That which is referred back to is termed the antecedent or referent denoted by the demonstrative. The type of cohesive tie or relation which exists between the two is called reference.

2.1 Exophoric Reference

Exophoric reference is situational. That which is referred to is outside the written or spoken text. The exophoric use of *ngara* is found in places where the storyteller makes comments explaining a word or object in the story before he continues with the story line. In example 13 *ngara* refers to coconut shells that are found today in the real world:

- (13) *Ra ana nga ha-pa-nago-an hay tag bagoe baea ngara*
 F his 1 LG hiding.place INV OBV coconut.shell Q **this**
nga may mata?
 1 LG have eye
 Where he hid was in that.
 you know, **this** coconut
 shell with eyes?

2.2 Endophoric reference

Halliday (1977:33) refers to endophoric or textual reference as "the relationship between demonstrative and its antecedent when the antecedent... is retrievable only in the text." It is either previously mentioned or immediately coming up in the following utterance.

In example 14 the listener's knowledge about the tree is obtained from the text alone, so the subsequent reference to it will be endophoric. It is the most common type of reference found in texts:

- (14) *May na-kita kuno imaw nga ma-bahoe nga puea nga pispis nga*
 EXT see QT he 1 LG ADJ-big 1 LG red 1 LG bird 1 LG
nag-guwa halin sa ruyon nga kahoy.
 CMP-go.out from REF **that** 1 LG tree
 He said he saw a big, red
 bird come out of **that** tree.

The existence of the tree was established as given information in the text three sentences earlier by the use of the existential marker *may*. Example 14 shows the first reference back to the tree in the story, 'The Pet of an *Inkanto*'.

2.2.1 Cataphoric reference

Cataphoric reference is looking forward to the succeeding lines of text for the referent of the demonstrative. This type of reference is less common. It was encountered in one text only, a formal storytelling account, where the speaker began her story by introducing the main characters with the words 'that siblings that'. The story had not yet been told so the demonstrative 'that' referred to the characters who were being introduced:

- (15) *Ruyon nga mag-ma-ea-nghod ngaron nga tatlo, daywa nga bayi*
 that LIG sibling that LIG three two LIG girl

There were these three siblings, two girls and a boy.

ag sambilog nga eaki.
and one LIG boy

2.2.2 Anaphoric reference

Within a text the noun or phrase which the demonstrative refers to can be located preceding the demonstrative. This is anaphoric reference. It is back referencing or looking back to the previous lines of text for that which the demonstrative refers to. This referring back to what was said before is one form of cohesion that ties a text together. Most demonstrative reference is anaphoric.

3. Syntactic positions of demonstratives

In a noun phrase demonstratives occur before the head noun (prehead position, example 16), after the head noun (posthead position, example 17). However, two demonstratives from different sets may cooccur in the same phrase, one in the prehead position and the other in the posthead position (example 18) or both forms can occur before the head noun (example 19) illustrating special cases of pointing.

A. Prehead

- (16) *Ag rundaya nga saging hay nag-tubo ag nag-bahoe ag ku*
 and DEM LIG banana INV grow and big and PTM
ulihi nag-puso ag nag-bunga nag-gueang ag nag-euto.
 late/behind blossom and bear.fruit mature and ripe

And this banana tree grew and got bigger and later on blossomed and bore fruit, matured and ripened.

B. Posthead

- (17) *Tungod nga maeayo ro gin-hari-an ngara it dragon sa*
 because LIG far F kingdom this of dragon from
gin-hari-an it mga amo, ma-buhay si Buroe nga nag-pamanaw-on.
 kingdom of PL monkey long.time F Jellyfish LIG CMP=travel

Because **this** kingdom of dragons was far from the kingdom of the monkeys, Jellyfish traveled a long time.

C. Prehead and posthead

- (18) *Pagka-tapos, raya-ng si Bacahidyong ngara may na-ila-an nga*
 afterward DEM1 F Bacahidyong DEM1,DEC EXT like LIG
bayi.
 girl

Then, this *Bacahidyong* this had a girl that he loved.

D. Prehead, posthead and head noun

- (19) *Pagka-takas nanda, "hgg-pangutana si Amo kay Ba-o,*
 go.upland 3.PL,NF ask F Monkey REF Turtle
 "Alinon mana naton *rondaya ngara nga sam-puno nga saging?*
 what QT 1.PL,NF,IN DEM DEM1,DEC LIG one.trunk LIG banana
Indi man naton ma-kaon.
 NEG also 1.PL,NF,IN eat
- After they had taken it out, Monkey asked Turtle, "What are we going to do with **this this** banana tree? It can't be eaten."

Demonstratives occur in the syntactic positions just described only when the demonstrative functions as a modifier. However when the referent is outside the phrase in which the demonstrative is found, the demonstrative is a head. In example 20 the first *raya* is acting as modifier. Its referent, *nga istorya* 'story' is found in the same phrase as the demonstrative. The second *raya* is acting as head because its referent is found outside the phrase:

- (20) *Raya nga istorya hay indi haeos ma-pati-han pero raya hay*
 DEM1 LIG story INV NEG almost believe but DEM1 INV
ma-tuod.
 true
- This story is almost unbelievable but **this** is true.

A demonstrative may be the head of a relative clause and so possibly be misinterpreted as a modifier because it precedes the linker *nga* as in other NPs. But it is a head because its referent is outside the construction or phrase in which the demonstrative is found. In example 21 the referent of *rondato* is 'banana', which is outside the phrase where the demonstrative is found, and not 'had leaves':

- (21) *Ro ana nga gin-ako hay rondato nga may dahon eagi.*
 F his LIG OF,CMP=accept INV that LIG EXT leaf already
 The one he chose was **that** that already had leaves.

3.1 Demonstratives functioning as head

Halliday and Hasan (1976:65) state that one important characteristic of demonstratives functioning as head, is the level of generality of the referent is broader than those demonstratives functioning as modifiers. A demonstrative without a following noun, may refer to some more general class than a demonstrative acting as a modifier. This is indeed the case in Aklanon, where the demonstrative standing alone as head refers back anaphorically to the whole story and brings the story to conclusion:

- (22) *Ngani nga ronduyon ro aton nga istorya ag dikaron*
 EXP LIG DEM2 F 1.PL,NF,IN LIG story and there
nag-tapos.
 finish
- So **that's** our story and it ends there.

The *mawron* form is always used as a head to refer anaphorically to the whole story in drawing a conclusion as in example 23. When it refers back to the whole story it is found in the last lines of the text:

- (23) *Hay maw-ron do gina-singhan nga maw-ron do*
 EX that.is.why F say LIG that.is.what F
gina-halin-an it aswang.
 origin G vampire.person
- That is **why** it is said that **that** is the origin of vampires.

Mawron is also used to refer back to a series of events. In this function it occurred in the text after a direct quote. Example 24 shows the quote and example 25 shows the use of *mawron*:

- (24) *Hay, si Baeahidyong um-uli eon dito sa anda ag*
 well F Baeahidyong go.home now there REF their and
s-um-ugid nga ay mana "Manang hay matuod gali nga
 tell LIG EX QT Older.Sibling true true SURP LIG
aswang gali mana si Banogmakahueaw."
 vampire.person SURP QT F Banogmakahueaw

Well, Baeahidyong went home to their place and told them, "Older Sister, ah, it's true after all that Banogmakahueaw was really a vampire."

- (25) *Mawron da ana nga singhan.*
 that.is.what F 3.SG.NF LIG say

That's what he said to them.

The quality of extended reference or broadness of reference of head demonstratives referred to by Halliday is also seen in the use of the nonfocus form. Here *kara* is used to refer anaphorically to a sequence of events which were mentioned in the previous paragraph:

- (26) *Pagka-kita it rayna kara hay nag-mayad mat-a imaw*
 see NF queen REF,DEMI INV well indeed 3.SG,F

When the queen saw this she indeed became well.

dayon.
 then

3.2 Demonstratives functioning as modifier

Halliday and Hasan (1976:63) note that, "If the demonstrative is used with a noun, then the meaning is always identical with that of the presupposed item." These demonstratives are referred to as defining modifiers because they have an exact identity of reference with the presupposed item. In Aklanon there are two types of defining modifiers, the posthead modifiers and the prehead modifiers.

3.2.1 Prehead demonstratives

Prehead modifiers occur at the phrase level and are always followed by the linker *nga* (or *-ng*) and the head noun (see example 28). These demonstratives are always one of the topic forms which substitute for the definite topic marker *ro*. Since demonstratives are already definite and a definite marker *ro* already exists in the language, demonstratives must function other than to mark definiteness. Prehead demonstratives in Aklanon function to isolate, specify, draw attention to or highlight something or some participant which has special importance in the story.

The story of the jellyfish begins in example 27. A kingdom under the sea was first introduced with an existential *may* so it is already definite. The demonstrative in example 28 marks the kingdom as an isolated special kingdom, and it is the focused topic of the clause and theme of the whole story:

- (27) *May isae-ng ka gin-hari-an sa idaeom it dagat.*
 EXT one,LIG ENU kingdom REF under G sea

There was a kingdom at the bottom of the sea.

- (28) *Daya-ng gin-hari-an hay gina-d-um-aea-han ni Hari-ng Dragon.*
 DEMI,LIG kingdom INV head NF King,LIG Dragon

This kingdom was ruled by King Dragon.

Prehead demonstratives are anaphoric just like posthead demonstratives, but the two function somewhat differently. The reference mechanism of posthead modifiers is an exact repetition of the noun head or of the noun phrase which the demonstrative modifies (see section 3.3). But prehead demonstratives do not require the exact repetition of the noun head to achieve anaphoric reference. Instead the noun head may vary with each use of the demonstrative. In the text, 'Head Sitting on The Trail', the fearful sight is first mentioned in line 6, example 29 as 'something big and black that looked like it had a head sitting in the middle of the trail'. The next reference is in line 8, example 30 where it is called 'that big, dark thing that I saw in the middle of the trail'. In line 11, it is referred to as 'that which I saw' (example not shown). Finally, in line 13, example 31 the fearful thing is referred to with a single demonstrative, *rato* 'that':

(29) *Tag naga-hi-lapit ako sa imaw gid nga lugar, ag*
 TM approach 1,SG,F REF 3,SG,F EMPH LIG place and
kapin ma-hayag ro buean, nag-dugang ro akon nga ka-hadlok
 especially bright F moon increase F 1,SG,PO LIG fear
ay kon akon nga tan-aw-on, sa unahan ku daean nga akon
 because if 1,SG,ACT LIG look F ahead G trail LIG 1,SG,ACT
nga gina-agyan na-kita ko ro ma-itom nga maisa may ueo nga
 LIG pass.by see 1,SG,ACT F black LIG seem.like EXT head LIG
naga-lingkod sa tunga it daean.
 sit REF middle G trail

When I was getting near to that very place and especially since the moon was bright, my fear increased because of what I saw up ahead on the trail, I saw something big and black that looked like it had a head sitting in the middle of the trail.

(30) *Nag-taliwan ako sa rato-ng akon nga na-kita nga*
 pass 1,SG,F REF DEM4,LIG 1,SG,ACT LIG see LIG
ma-bahoe nga ma-itom sa tunga it daean.
 big LIG black REF middle G trail

I passed that big, dark thing that I saw in the middle of the trail.

(31) *Sa akon nga pagka-ngawa, rato manlang gali hay*
 REF 1,SG,PO LIG surprise DEM4 just SURP INV
tin-apas-an nga puno it nyog sa binit it daean.
 stump LIG base G coconut REF side G trail

To my surprise that was only a stump of a tree on the side of the trail.

3.2.1.1 Prehead demonstratives modify time words

Time settings are introduced with prehead demonstratives, not posthead. In first person narratives the remote form is used because the story is about a specific time in the remote past and has an exophoric meaning:

(32) *Ku rato-ng gabii, ma-dasig ro akon nga pag-panaw.*
 TM DEM4,LIG night fast F 1,SG,PO LIG walk

That night I was walking very fast.

In formal storytelling accounts time is not specified because the storyteller is creating the story for the listeners. If time was indicated in the texts it was always with the near speaker or near listener form *nyon* because the time referred to is endophoric and relative to the events in the text and not a remote, real past time:

(33) *Eagi sa ruyon nea oras hay gin-pa-tawag ni Haring*
 immediate REF DEM2 LIG time INV call.for NF King
Dragon si Buroe ag gin-sugo nga mag-buoe it atay it amo.
 Dragon F Jellyfish and order LIG take NF liver G monkey

Immediately at that time, King Dragon called for Jellyfish and ordered him to get the liver of a monkey.

3.2.1.2 Prehead demonstratives modify location words

In the texts analyzed thus far, there were only two occurrences of locations that were referred to with demonstratives. In both the *ruyon* or nonremote form was used. In both the demonstratives refer to places which are not specific, but generalized locations and the referent is in the immediately preceding context:

- (34) *"Una manlang mana kami sa may binit it daean."* He said, "We were just
there just QT 1,PL,F,EX REF approximate edge G trail there by the side of that
trail." He said, "I could
"Akon mana nga ha-kita ro tanan nga naga-in-agi sa ruyon nga daean, see everyone continually
1,SG,ACT QT LIG see F all LIG pass.by REF DEM2 LIG trail passing by on that trail
but I could not talk."
ugaling indi ako maka-hambae."
but NEG 1,SG,F speak

In example 35 the coreferent of 'that place' is not a specific one word antecedent, but the whole place where the story happened:

- (35) *Pero sanday Tatay gin-hadlok-an gid sanda it mayad* But Father and others
but F,PL Father afraid EMPH 3,PL,F LIG good were very frightened be-
cause there was a well
tungod sa ruyon nga lugar hay may gina-kilaea nga gabunan nga known, powerful vampire
because REF DEM2 LIG place INV EXT know LIG powerful LIG in that place.
aswang.
vampire.person

3.2.2 Cooccurrence of prehead and posthead demonstratives

Prehead and posthead demonstratives can both modify the same head noun. The only cooccurrence restriction is that both demonstratives must represent the same proximity. *Raya* may only cooccur with *ngara*, *ruyon* with *ngaron* and *rato* with *ngato*. The enclitic forms *ra*, *ron*, *na* and *to* may never be used phrase initial.

Raya + *ngara* and *ruyon* + *ngaron* are used especially by older storytellers to introduce the major participants. In 'The Origin of The Vampire Person' the major participants are introduced after the formulaic phrase in the aperture of a fictional narrative with the prehead and posthead demonstratives. The medial form *ruyon* + *ngaron* is used because the speaker is 'creating' the story for his hearer and building closeness with his hearer:

- (36) *Ronduyon nga eaki ngaron ro ana nga ngaeen hay si* That boy that his name is
DEM2 LIG boy DEM2,DEC F 3,SG,NF LIG name INV F *Bacahidyong.*
Bacahidyong.
Bacahidyong

Sometimes the posthead demonstrative occurs immediately following the prehead and precedes the noun. These forms are used for pointing to objects in the real world or in the imaginary world created in the story:

- (37) *Pagka-takas nanda, nag-pangutana si Amo kay Ba-o,* After they had taken it
go.upland 3,PL,NF ask F Monkey REF,N Turtle out, Monkey asked Turtle,
"What are we going to do
"Alinon mana naton rondaya ngara nga sam-puno nga saging? Indi with this this banana
what QT 1,PL,NF,IN DEM DEM1,DEC LIG one.trunk LIG banana NEG tree? It can't be eaten."
man naton ma-kaon."
also 1,PL,NF,IN eat

3.2.3 Posthead modifiers

The only demonstratives that function as posthead modifiers are *ngara*, *ngaron* and *ngato*. The posthead demonstratives are preceded by the ligature *nga*. But most native speakers do not conceive of these demonstratives as having two parts, i.e., ligature *nga* plus enclitic demonstrative, but they view them rather

as a single unit. So we will speak of the posthead modifier as though it were one word. The noun phrase which contains the demonstrative may function as topic or nontopic of a clause.

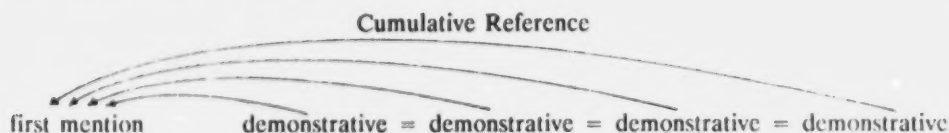
Demonstratives which function as posthead modifiers have an exact identity with their coreferent. This exact identity is achieved by the exact repetition of the noun or noun phrase with each use of the demonstrative.

An interesting example of exact repetition of the noun phrase with the demonstrative *ngato* follows in example 39. Here the phrase *binalilinan ngato it banig* 'that one rolled up in the mat', is repeated over and over again, and each repetition refers back to the original mention of the hero being rolled in the mat. In line 11 of the text the hero, *Baeahidyong*, asks his sisters to roll him up in a burial mat in order to fool the vampire into thinking he was dead. In line 15, example 39 he is then specifically referred to as 'that one rolled up in the mat' and is traced through lines 16, 18, 21 and 27 with a repetition of the phrase along with the post modifier demonstrative *ngato*.

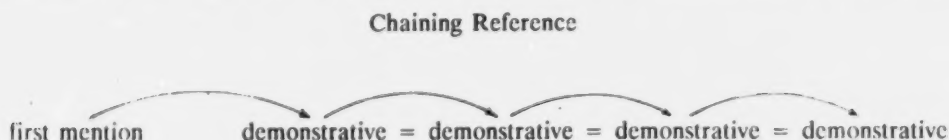
The primary function of posthead demonstratives is that of anaphorically specifying a particular coreferent and then tracing it through the story. Their function is not so much to highlight or draw attention to participants, as it is to mark the referent for easier tracking through the story:

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>(38) <i>Pagka-tapos, pag-abot nana rito, nag-libot-libot imaw</i>
 afterwards arrive/reach 3,SG,NF there, circle.around 3,SG,NF
 <i>rito sa b-in-alilin-an ngato it banig.</i>
 there REF roll.up DEM3,DEC LIG mat</p> <p>(39) <i>Hay, owa imaw rito upos-upos-a it balik-balik sa</i>
 then NEG 3,SG,NF there contain.oneself NF go.back.and.forth REF
 <i>a libot ku b-in-alilin-an ngato it banig p-in-as-an</i>
 3,SG,NF,LIG around G roll.up DEM3,DEC LIG mat carry.on.shoulder
 <i>na't-ana ro b-in-alilin-an ngato't banig ag i-eumpat na't-ana pa-uli</i>
 2,SG,NF F roll.up DEM3,DEC mat and jump 2,SG,NF go.home
 <i>rito sa anda.</i>
 there REF 3,PL,NF</p> | <p>Then, when she arrived there she circled around and around that one rolled up in the mat.</p> <p>She couldn't contain herself coming back over and over to that one rolled up in the mat and kept circling around it, she hoisted up that one rolled up in the mat on her shoulder and jumped out going home.</p> |
|--|---|

Posthead demonstratives functioning as modifiers are used in anaphoric referencing. Their head is often an exact repetition of the referent (see example 38). In such cases, each reference points back to the first mention of the referent. Let us call this a cumulative reference. The referencing mechanism may be illustrated by the following diagram:



This type of referencing contrasts with what can be called chaining reference, whereby the referencing is done through the last mention of the item. The following diagram illustrates the chaining reference:



In Aklanon cohesive chaining is accomplished by adding the demonstrative enclitic to the pronouns in the topic of the following sentence. In example 40 the pronoun and enclitic demonstrative *sandara* 'they/this' refer to the immediately preceding sentence:

- (40) *Kato anay, ma-buhay eon nga tyempo may mag-amigo nga*
 then EXP long already LIG time EXT friend LIG
sangka ba-o ag sangka amo. Sandara hay ma-eupot nga
 one turtle and one monkey 3,PL,F,DEMI INV intimate LIG
mag-amigo ag permi sanda nga naga-iba kon siin sanda
 friend and always 3,PL,F LIG together if/when where 3,PL,F
maga-adto, ag kon ano ro anda nga gina-obra.
 go and if/when what F 3,PL,NF LIG work

A long time ago, a very long time ago, there were friends, a turtle and a monkey. **They** were very close friends and they were together wherever they went and whatever they did.

And in example 41 the chaining is done with *imawra*:

- (41) *Ro anda nga na-saeap hay sang puno nga saging. Imawra ro*
 F 3,PL,NF LIG catch INV one trunk LIG banana DEMI F
anda-ng gin-pa-takas ag andang gin-uli.
 3,PL,NF take.up and 3,PL,NF take.home

The (only) thing they were able to catch was a banana tree. **This** is what they took out of water and took home.

In examples 40 and 41 the enclitic demonstratives refer back to the immediately preceding referent, and do not extend the reference back into the remote context. Perhaps this is because these demonstratives do not have a noun head as part of their noun phrase to remind the listener what the referent is. The repetition of the referent noun enables the posthead demonstratives to have an extended back reference. Since the coreferent is repeated the listener can keep track of the participant.

However this is not true of the posthead demonstrative *ngara* 'this'. It cannot have a referent from the remote context. Its referent is always present in the preceding sentence as shown in examples 42 and 43. The referent of *ngara* 'this' is the person *Baeahidyong*:

- (42) *Ronduyon nga eaki ngaron ra ana nga ngae-an hay si*
 DEM2 LIG boy DEM2,DEC F 3,SG,NF LIG name INV F

That boy that his name is *Baeahidyong*.

Baeahidyong.

Baeahidyong

- (43) *Pagka-tapos, raya-ng si Baeahidyong ngara may na-ila-an nga*
 afterward DEMI F Baeahidyong DEMI,DEC EXT like LIG

Then **this Baeahidyong** **this** had a girl that he loved.

bayi.

girl

4. Connotations of demonstratives

The connotative function of demonstratives refers to the sense of closeness, participation or emotional involvement which the use of a particular demonstrative or set of demonstratives evokes in the hearer and/or speaker. The formal storytelling accounts analyzed for this paper serve three purposes: (1) to entertain; (2) to explain the origins of malevolent beings, as in 'The Origins of the Vampire Person' and 'Why the Jellyfish Has No Bones'; and (3) to reinforce the social values of cleverness and patience, as in 'The Monkey and the Turtle'. First person narratives analyzed for this paper serve to entertain, as well as to validate the belief system. In the texts studied, different sets of demonstratives were used in formal storytelling accounts and first person narratives.

In Figure 2 the total number of demonstratives in first person narratives and formal storytelling accounts were counted to determine what percentage of the total demonstratives are proximal, medial and distal forms. First person narratives have a higher percentage of distal demonstratives than do formal storytelling accounts. 65 percent of the total number of demonstratives used in first person narratives were distal, 20 percent were medial and only 15 percent were proximal forms. In formal storytelling accounts the medial form was used more frequently (36.8 percent) than distal demonstratives (32.9 percent). And 27.6 percent of the demonstratives used in formal storytelling were proximal forms.

First Person Narratives	Formal Storytelling Accounts
Total demonstratives: 20	Total demonstratives: 76
Proximal forms: 3 (15%) (<i>raya</i> , etc.)	Proximal forms: 21 (27.6%)
Medial forms: 4 (20%) (<i>nuyon</i> , etc.)	Medial forms: 28 (36.8%)
Distal forms: 13 (65%) (<i>rato</i> , etc.)	Distal forms: 25 (32.9%)

Figure 2. Demonstrative Use in First Person and Formal Storytelling Accounts

The predominant use of distal forms of demonstratives is an identifying feature of first person narratives. They connote that something has previously happened in the real world in the past.

The predominant use of medial forms of demonstratives mark formal storytelling accounts. Medial demonstratives connote that something is somewhat near the speaker and hearer. The speaker uses these forms to make something that he is referring to, seem near and real to his hearers. Sometimes the proximate forms are used in the same way, to make the story seem real and near to the hearer. In example 44 the characters of the story are introduced with medial demonstratives:

- (44) *Ron-duyon nga eaki ngaron ra ana nga ngaean hay si*
that LIG boy that F his LIG name INV F

That boy that his name is
Baeahidyong.

Baeahidyong.

Baeahidyong

In first person narratives the characters are not introduced with demonstratives, but instead as real persons like 'my father' in example 45:

- (45) *Ro akon nga tatay hay mangung-uma.*
F my LIG father INV OC-farm

My father was a farmer.

Time in first person narratives was marked with *rato* which indicated a definite time in the past:

- (46) *Ku rato-ng gabii, ma-dasig ro akon nga pag-panaw.*
TM that-LIG night ADJ-fast F my LIG GER-walk

That night I was walking
very fast.

5. Conclusion

Aklanon demonstratives function on three different levels. They indicate speaker proximity to objects or persons in the physical world. In discourse they create cohesion by back referencing props and participants to help the hearers keep them straight. They mark certain characters as prominent and are used when ending the narrative and drawing conclusions.

Within the narrative genre, demonstratives serve to indicate a first person account in contrast to a formal storytelling account. The distal demonstratives are more common in first person narratives and

place the story in the listener's real life experience. The medial forms are more common to formal storytelling accounts and elicit the listener's closeness and emotional involvement with the story.

- | <i>Gin-halin-an it aswang</i>
origin G vampire.person | Where vampires came
from |
|--|---|
| by Iluminada Laos
August 1985 | |
| 1. <i>Ano pa ron ha?</i>
What still/yet DEM2 Q | 1. You listen well now,
okay? |
| 2. <i>Ruyon nga mag-ma-ea-nghod ngaron nga tatlo, daywa-ng ka</i>
DEM2 LIG sibling,PL DEM2,DEC LIG three two ENU
<i>bayi ag sambilog nga eaki.</i>
girl and one LIG boy | 2. There were these
three siblings, two girls
and a boy. |
| 3. <i>Ron-duyon nga eaki ngaron ra ana nga ngaean hay si</i>
DEM2 LIG boy DEM2,DEC F 3,S,NF LIG name INV F
<i>Baeahidyong.</i>
Baeahidyong | 3. That boy his name was
<i>Baeahidyong.</i> |
| 4. <i>Pag-katapos, raya-ng si Baeahidyong ngara may na-ila-an nga</i>
afterward DEM1 F Baeahidyong DEM1,DEC EXT like LIG
<i>bayi.</i>
girl | 4. Then, this <i>Baeahi-</i>
<i>dyong</i> had a girl that he
loved. |
| 5. <i>Ra ngalan ku babayi nga gina-ka-ila-an nana si Banogmakahueaw.</i>
F name G girl LIG like 3,S,NF F Banogmakahueaw | 5. The name of the girl
that he loved was <i>Banog-</i>
<i>makahueaw.</i> |
| 6. <i>Hay, gina-inga-an imaw ku ana nga daywa-ng ka igmanghod nga</i>
LIG warn 3,S,F NF 3,S,NF LIG two ENU sibling LIG
<i>babayi nga indi imaw rito mag-pang-asawa sa babayi ngaron</i>
girl LIG NEG 3,S,F there court.wife REF girl DEM2,DEC
<i>ay gina-singhan nga aswang.</i>
because say LIG vampire.person | 6. Well, his two sisters ad-
monished him not to court
tht girl because it was
said that she was a vam-
pire. |
| 7. <i>Hay, indi gid-t-a mag-pati ronduyon nga si Baeahidyong ngaron</i>
LIG NEG EMPH believe F LIG F Baeahidyong DEM2,DEC
<i>ay owa gid imaw :a-kita ku gina-singhan ngaron nga</i>
because NEG EMPH 3,S,F could.see NF say DEM2,DEC LIG
<i>aswang.</i>
vampire.person | 7. Well, that <i>Baeahidyong</i>
wouldn't believe that be-
cause he hadn't yet seen
anything called a vampire. |

8. Hay, kundi ga-agto gid-'t-a ron imaw rito, ga-balik-balik
 LIG so.then go EMPH DEM2 3,S,F there go.back.and.forth
 rito imaw ay ga-pa-ngagad.
 there 3,S,F because work.for.parents

9. Hay, kat ma-buhay eon da ana rito nga pang-asawa hay
 LIG PTM long.time already F 3,S,NF there LIG court INV
 na-ila-an ma-'t-a imaw ku ron-duyon nga babayi ngaron nga si
 like also 3,S,F NF DEM2 LIG girl DEM2,DEC LIG F
 Banogmakahueaw hay gin-pa-sakat eo't-ana imaw.
 Banogmakahueaw INV make.to.hurry already 3,S,F

10. Ana nga gin-obra ni Baeahidyong abi mana akon gid mana
 3,S,NF LIG work NF Baeahidyong EXP QT 1,S,NF EMPH QT
 nga, "Obserba-han mana kon ma-tuod gid nga aswang."
 LIG see.for.myself QT if true EMPH LIG vampire.person

11. Nag-b-in-aid imaw ka ana nga talibong ag pagka-tapos
 sharpen 3,S,F NF 3,S,NF LIG long.machete and afterward
 nag-hambae imaw sa ana nga mga igmanghod nga mana hay,
 said 3,S,F REF 3,S,NF LIG PL sibling LIG QT INV
 "Ga-pa-balilin mana ako it banig ag inyo mana ako nga hi-matay-an.
 roll.up QT 1,S,F NF mat and 2,PL,NF QT 1,S,F LIG mourn

12. Tuak-an gid mana ninyo ako it ma-baskog gid."
 mourn.and.wail EMPH QT 2,PL,NF 1,S,F LIG loud EMPH

13. Hay, kundi gin-sunod man don ka ana nga mga igmanghod
 LIG so.then follow/obey also DEM2 2,S,F 3,S,NF LIG PL sibling
 ay gina-obserbahan ngani kon don-duyon ma-tuod nga
 because being.watched EXP if DEM2 true LIG
 aswang ro si Banogmakahueaw.
 vampire.person F F Banogmakahueaw

14. Ta, naka-bati eon si Banogmakahueaw it naga-himatay
 now hear already F Banogmakahueaw NF mourn
 hay nag-pa-haom imaw ag um-agto rito.
 INV get.ready 3,S,F and go there

15. Pagka-tapos, pag-abot nana rito, nag-libot-libot imaw rito sa
 afterward arrive/reach 3,S,NF there circle.around 3,S,F there REF
 b-in-alilin-an ngato it banig.
 roll.up DEM3,DEC NF mat

8. So he still went there, he kept on going back because he was helping out around her house.

9. Well, when he had already been courting her for a long time, because he was also loved by the girl *Banogmakahueaw*, he was hastened by her into marriage.

10. So what *Baeahidyong* did was, he said, "I'll observe her to see if it's true that she's a vampire."

11. He sharpened his bolo, and then he said to his sisters, "Roll me up in a mat and you will mourn for me."

12. You mourn and wail for me very loudly."

13. So, his sisters followed the instructions in order to make *Banogmakahueaw* be observed to see if it's true that she's really a vampire.

14. Now, *Banogmakahueaw* heard the mourning and crying and got ready and went there.

15. Then, when she arrived there she circled around and around *Baeahidyong* who was rolled up in the mat.

16. *Hay, owa imaw rito upos-upos-a it balik-balik sa*
 LIG NEG 3,S,F there contain.oneself NF go.back.and.forth REF
a libot ku b-in-alilin-an ngato it banig p-in-as-an
 3,S,NF:LIG around G roll.up DEM3,DEC NF mat carry.on.shoulder
na't-ana ro b-in-alilin-an ngato't banig ag i-eumpat na't-ana pa-uli
 2,S,NF F roll.up DEM3,DEC mat and jump 2,S,NF go.home
rito sa anda.
 there REF 3,PL,NF

17. *Ro mga manghod't-a ni Baeahidyong hay nag-pa-baya eot't-a*
 F PL younger.sibling NF Baeahidyong INV let.be now
ron don ay ka-sayod sanda nga aswang na-hadlok sanda.
 DEM2 DEM2 because know 3,PL,F LIG vampire.person afraid 3,PL,F

18. *Hay, pag-abot eon dito ni Banogmakahueaw sa anda,*
 LIG arrive/reach already there NF Banogmakahueaw REF 3,PL,NF
kundi idto eon do ana ngato-ng p-in-as-an nga b-in-alilin-an it
 so.that there already F 3,S,NF DEM3,DEC shoulder LIG roll.up NF
banig, pinus-ang na sa tunga't baeay.
 mat dump 3,S,NF REF middle house

19. *Ag mag-libot-libot imaw rito sa b-in-alilin-a't banig ag*
 And circle.around 3,S,F there REF roll.up mat and
pag-kuot-on nana rito sa ana nga buli ku idto sa sueod it
 reach.inside 3,S,NF there REF 3,S,NF LIG end G there REF inside G
b-in-alilin-a't banig.
 roll.up mat

20. *"Dyos!" sinana rito, ha-kuot nana ra ana nga buli, "Ay ay,"*
 God QT there reach.inside 3,S,NF F 3,S,NF LIG end oh oh
mana, "Hay naga-kibo-kibo pa't-a mana sinana rito."
 QT INV pulsate.inside still/yet QT say there

21. *Hay, don-duyon man nga ra ana man nga ina ni*
 EXC DEM2 also LIG F 3,S,NF also LIG mother NF
Banogmakahueaw nag-daea man it pighoe ag mag-libot-libot
 Banogmakahueaw carry/bring also NF lump.of.rice and circle.around
man dito sa b-in-alilin-an ngato't banig ag naga-pangayo man
 also there REF roll.up DEM3,DEC mat and ask.for also
imaw kay Banogmakahueaw it sang bugto nga tinai.
 3,S,F REF,N Banogmakahueaw NF one section LIG intestine

16. Well, she couldn't quite figure out what to do with *Baeahidyong* in the rolled up mat and kept circling around it, then after a moment's hesitation, she carried *Baeahidyong* in the rolled up mat on her shoulder and jumped out going home.

17. The sisters of *Baeahidyong* just let her go ahead and take it because they knew she was a vampire and were afraid.

18. So when *Banogmakahueaw* arrived home at her house with *Baeahidyong* in the rolled up mat on her shoulder, she dumped it in the middle of the house.

19. And she circled around *Baeahidyong* in the rolled up mat and then reached inside one end of it.

20. "God!" she said, she grabbed his back end, "Oh oh," she said, "This is still moving."

21. Oh, the mother of *Banogmakahueaw* was also there and she brought a lump of cold rice and also circled around *Baeahidyong* in the rolled up mat and asked *Banogmakahueaw* for a section of intestine.

22. Hay, owa gid na-upos-upos-a si Banogmakahueaw s-um-inghan
EXC NEG EMPH contain.oneself F Banogmakahueaw say

imaw nga, "Yaw anay ki mana ina ay gina-pan-ligbos-an
3,S,F LIG do.not please MP QT inother because move

pa mana, sinana rito."

still/yet QT said there

23. Hay, "Yaw anay mana ma-panaw mana anay ako."

EXC do.not please QT go QT first 1,S,F

24. Hay mawron ngi ra ana nga panaw hay ga-pan-ueang

LIG that.is.why EXP F 3,S,NF LIG go/walk INV to.fetch

eon imaw it ka-iba-han ay ga-ma-tansa eon sanda.

already 3,S,F NF companion because to.butcher already 3,PL,F

25. Ba, hay kundi kon pila-ng ka baeay ra ana-ng

EXC LIG so.then if/when few/several ENU house F 3,S,NF

gin-agto-nan nga gina-kangay nana nga ma-agto rito agod maka-saeod
go LIG invite 3,S,NF LIG go there so.that catch.liquid

map sanda it dugo.

also 3,PL,F NF blood

26. Kundi una eon, nag-a-ea-bot-an eon duna sa anda.

so.then there already wait.to.arrive already there REF 3,PL,NF

27. Pagka-tapos anda eon nga gina-buks-an don-dato-ng

afterward 3,PL,NF already LIG open DEM3

b-in-alilin-an ngato't banig.

roll.up DEM3,DEC mat

28. Abaw hay k-um-ugbot 't-a si Baeahidyong ag gabot-on 't-a

EXC EXC jerk EXC F Baeahidyong and pull.out EXC

ra talibong ngato alis-on 't-a sanda ngato runa
F3,S,PO-LIG long.machete DEM3,DEC slash EXC 3,PL,F DEM3,DEC there

sa sueod it baeay ro may mga d-in-aea ngato-ng mga saeod may
REF inside G house F EXT PL bring DEM3,DEC PL catch.liquid EXT

d-in-aea-ng mga hungot ngato.

bring PL coconut.shell.cup DEM3,DEC

29. Hay kundi nag-kaea-matay 't-a sanda.

LIG then many.die EXC 3,PL,F

30. Hay, rato-ng si Banogmakahueaw hay may unga nga si Akiton

LIG DEM4 F Banogmakahueaw INV EXT child LIG F Akiton

da ngacan ka ana-ng unga.

F name G 3,S,NF child

22. Oh, Banogmakahueaw hesitated a moment and said, "Don't, mother, because it's still moving."

23. Oh, (she said,) "Don't, I'm going out first."

24. So that was why she left, she went to fetch some companions because they were going to butcher him.

25. Ba, so she went to a few houses to invite them to go to her place to receive a share of the kill.

26. When she was back again, they waited there for the other to arrive.

27. Then they were already opening that mat with Baeahidyong wrapped in it.

28. Wow! Baeahidyong gave a jerk and pulled out his bolo and slashed to pieces the ones in the house and the ones who had brought the cup and the coconut shell.

29. So they all died.

30. Well, that Banogmakahueaw had a child, Akiton was the name of the child.

31. *Hay, ra ana ngato-ng unga hay bukas ra anda-ng bintana hay*
 LIG F 3,S,NF DEM3,DEC child INV open F 3,PL,NF window INV
naka-eumpat 't-a imaw sa bintana l-um-iksi 't-a hay idto 't-a imaw
 jump EXC 3,S,F REF window jump EXC INV there EXC 3,S,F
sa puso it saging naka-kupo.
 REF blossom G banana hang,from,hand

32. *Kundi owa 't-a imaw hi-kita.*
 so,that NEG EXC 3,S,F be,seen

33. *Hay, si Baeahidyong um-uli eon dito sa anda ag*
 LIG F Baeahidyong go,home now there REF 3,PL,NF and
s-um-ugid nga ay mana, "Manang hay ma-tuod gali mana nga
 tell LIG EXC QT older,sister EXC true SURP QT LIG
aswang gali mana si Banogmakahueaw."
 vampire.person SURP QT F Banogmakahueaw

34. *Mawron da ana nga singhan.*
 That,is,what F 3,S,NF LIG say

35. *"Hay, indi ka gid mana mag-pati, gine-singhan-an ka gid*
 EXC NEG 2,S,F EMPH QT believe tell 2,S,F EMPH
mana nga indi ka mana mag-pang-asawa rito ay aswang
 QT LIG NEG 2,S,F QT court,wife there because vampire.person
ron hay indi ka gid mana mag-pati."
 DEM2 EXC NEG 2,S,F EMPH QT believe

36. *"Hay, makaron?" mana.*
 EXC now QT

37. *"Hay ga-pati eon don mana ako ay haron mana*
 LIG believe already DEM2 QT 1,S,F because/since like,that QT
nga gina-kuot mana ra ang buli hay ga-kibo-kibo mana hay
 LIG reach,inside QT F 3,S,PO:LIG end LIG pulsate,inside QT LIG
gina-singhan nana nga gina-pang-ligbos-an."
 said,to,be 3,S,NF LIG still,alive

38. *"Ag ga-libot-libot man mana ra a ina ay*
 and circle,around also QT F 3,S,PO:LIG mother because
ga-pangayo't sang bugto nga tinai."
 ask,for one section LIG intestine

39. *Hay kon nano pa ay nagka-ea-matay eon mana sanda.*
 LIG if/when what still/yet since all,dead already QT 3,PL,F

31. Well, that child of hers opened the window and jumped out of the window and jumped up and there he was hanging on to the heart of the banana tree.

32. So he couldn't be seen.

33. Well, Baeahidyong went home to their place and told them, "Older sister, it's true after all, that Banogmakahueaw is really a vampire."

34. That's what he said to them.

35. "See, you wouldn't believe it, didn't we tell you that you shouldn't court that one because she was a vampire, but you wouldn't believe it."

36. "Well, what now?" they asked.

37. "I believe it now because this is how they reached into the bottom of the mat. It's moving, it's still alive," they said.

38. "And her mother also circled around me and asked for a section of intestine to eat," he said.

39. So what now because he said they all died.

40. Hay di owa eon don, in-aywan eo't-a runa ro
 LIG so.then NEG already DEM2 leave.behind now:EXC there F
 anda nga patay ngato ron.
 3,PL,NF LIG dead.body DEM3,DEC DEM2

40. So then then there's
 no more. The dead bodies
 were just left behind there.

41. Hay, ron-daya man nga mga estranghero ngara-ng
 EXC DEM2 also LIG PL stranger/foreigner DEM1,DEC
 gina-singhan kon iya man sa aton kon singhan-on hay tag
 being.called when here also REF 1,PL,NF,IN if/when say INV DET
 mga manog-pang-ayam ngara it mga ta-ma-eon-on.
 PL hunt.with.dog DEM1,DEC NF PL wild.animal

41. Well, there were
 also these strangers who
 are called here in our
 dialect, hunting wild
 animals.

42. Hay nag-abot man duna sa lugar ngaron nga
 LIG arrive also there REF time/place DEM2,DEC LIG
 naga-pang-ayam.
 hunt.with.dog

42. So the hunters also ar-
 rived there in that place.

43. Hay ra anda nga ayam, naha-una kanda, hay owa't
 LIG F 3,PL,NF LIG dog go.ahead.of 3,PL,FEF INV NEG
 iba-ng naha-sunghae-an kundi don-duyon nga ayam tag
 different/other happen.to.see/meet other.than DEM2 LIG dog DET
 ron-dato-ng unga ngato-ng naga-kapyot dito sa puso it saging.
 DEM2-DEM3 child DEM3,DEC cling.with.arm there REF blossom G banana

43. So their dogs, who
 where ahead of them,
 meet no other but that
 child clinging onto the
 heart of the banana tree.

44. Hay gina-t-in-angda ku ayam ag pag-l-in-ahay-on kundi
 LIG look.up NF dog and bark so.that
 nag-dali-dali ro mga manga-ng-ayam ag anda-ng agto-nan ay,
 hurry F PL hunt.with.dog and 3,PL,NF go.there because
 "Siguro mana naka-kita gid siguro mana't ta-ma-eon-on do aton
 maybe QT see/find EMPH maybe QT wild.animal F 1,PL,NF,IN
 nga ayam o kundi mana usa."
 LIG dog or if.not QT deer

44. So the dogs were look-
 ing up and barking at the
 child so that hunters hur-
 ried over and in their
 going said, "Maybe our
 dogs have found some
 wild animals or deer."

45. Hay pag-abot nanda rito ga-tangda ro ayam rito sa saging
 LIG arrive/reach 3,PL,NF there look.up F dog there REF banana
 ngato nga may puso hay gali idto raton-ng unga!
 DEM3,DEC LIG EXT blossom EXC SURP there DEM3 child

45. So, when they arrived
 there the dogs were look-
 ing up into the banana
 tree which had the
 banana heart and there
 was that child!

46. Hay anda 't-a nga gin-puksi ro unga ngato rito sa saging
 LIG 3,PL,NF EXC LIG pluck F child DEM3,DEC there REF banana
 nga naga-kapyot ag anda 't-a nga gin-daea.
 LIG cling.with.arm and 3,PL,NF EXC LIG carry/bring

46. So, they plucked that
 child from the banana
 tree where she was cling-
 ing and took her away.

47. *Anda 't-a nga gin-daea sa anda ngato-ng sakay-an*
 3,PL,NF EXC LIG carry/bring REF 3,PL,NF DEM3,DEC boat
pagka-tapos hay anda 't-a-ng gin-alila-an dato nga unga ngato.
 afterward INV 3,PL,NF EXC:LIG raise DEM3 LIG child DEM3,DEC
48. *Hay maw-ron do gina-singhan nga maw-ron do gina-halin-an it*
 LIG that.is.why F is.being.said LIG that.is.what F origin G
aswang, ngani nga owa ma-ubos do aswang ay
 vampire.person so/therefore LIG NEG use.up F vampire.person because
rikato kay Akiton ngato mag-halin.
 from.there REF,N Akiton DEM3,DEC come.from

47. They took the child to their boat and then they took care of and raised the child.

48. So that is what is told is the origin of vampires, so therefore there still are vampires because they come from Akiton.

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Behavioral Discourse Strategy in Eastern Bontoc¹

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Abbreviations and symbols

0. Introduction

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References

Appendix

Abbreviations and symbols

DU	dual
EM	emphasis
EX	exclusive
EXT	existential
GM	genitive marker
IM	inversion marker
IN	inclusive
IK	linker
NM	nominative marker
OM	oblique marker
PL	plural
PROG	progressive
Q	question marker
QM	quotation marker
RQ	rhetorical question

¹ Eastern Bontoc is an Austronesian language classified as a member of the Central Cordilleran language family and is spoken in the municipalities of Bontoc and Barlig, Mt. Province, Philippines. There are about 8,000 speakers in five villages: Bayyu, Talubin, Barlig, Lias, and Kadaclan. Each village speaks its own subdialect of Eastern Bontoc. The data for this study is based on the Barlig dialect and was gathered during the summer of 1986, under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. Analysis of the data was done during a discourse workshop held by the same institute during September and October 1987 at Bagabag, Nueva Vizcaya, under the direction of Dr. Michael R. Watrod. Dr. Rodolfo Barlaan provided valuable consultant help.

/	alternate related meaning
.	compound gloss
'	semantic/grammatical components
-	glottal stop
??	unknown-gloss

O. Introduction

A behavioral discourse is one in which the communicator intends to exhort, give advice, persuade or give verbal discipline in an effort to change the behavior or beliefs of the advisee. A primary notional feature of behavioral discourse is that it is agent oriented (Longacre 1983:3-4); that is, speech directed obligatorily to a second person in a communication situation. If the communicator wants to gain maximum behavioral change, he needs to be aware of all the extra linguistic factors involved in the communication situation, as well as the linguistic devices available in the language. To accomplish this goal, he is required to make use of all available persuasive devices in the language. The purpose of this paper is to discuss the persuasive devices employed in the behavioral texts analyzed.

This study deals with two Eastern Bontoc behavioral texts (see Appendix). The first text is a conversation among several people advising a careless boy to save his money for wedding celebration expenses, and not to spend it on gambling and drinking. His aunt is the main one speaking to him, but his grandfather, older brother and younger sister are also at the scene and speak from time to time. The text was recorded and transcribed by *Alex Cotaran*, a native of Barlig village of Eastern Bontoc language area and the older brother referred to in the text. The second text was written by *Virginia Coyao*, a native of Barlig also. In the text she advises her peer group about the importance of sending children to school.

In behavioral discourse the communicator employs a strategy to gain maximum results. The strategy involves persuasive devices, which can be either nonlinguistic or linguistic.

1. Nonlinguistic persuasive devices

There are many persuasive devices in a language which help the communicator to achieve his aim of effecting a change in the behavior of the listener. According to the communication theory of Walrod (1988), most information is communicated by nonverbal means. This is especially true in behavioral discourse, since the purpose is not only to transmit information, but to effect a change in behavior as well.

Several nonlinguistic persuasive devices are: appeal to the cultural norm, human relationship, coaxing and indirectness.

1.1 Appeal to the cultural norm

Appeal to the cultural norm is a nonlinguistic device commonly used to effect a change in the behavior of the one being advised. Since a cultural norm is by definition a value shared by the people in a given society, it serves as a model for expected behavior. The adviser, by either implying or stating the norm, attempts to effect a change in the behavior of the person to whom he is speaking. Cultural norms are layered and can be arranged from most important to least important. Barlaan² considers the layering of cultural norms to belong to the linguistic domain, but I treat it as a nonlinguistic device since cultural norms are essentially nonlinguistic elements shared by a society. These elements are expressed in behavioral discourse, such as the two texts on which this paper is based.

In text 1 the most important cultural norm is the concept of shame. In text 1, turn 13³ when the aunt tells the boy that he should not embarrass his relatives, she is making quite a strong statement. In turn 19 (sentence 19e) she does this again when she says, "How shameful this is, if they said no one was

² Personal communication with him in 1987.

³ Numbers refer to conversational turns, while 13a, etc. in the text refer to sentence enumeration within a turn.

advising you children." Note that she resorts to "they" (referring to the people in general for her support), since shame functions as a cultural norm with and among the people. In turn 26 (sentence 26b) she again says, "Isn't it shameful if (when you box someone) others say, 'We belong to the same clan'?" In turn 66 (sentence 66a) she says, "...then what will they say?" Lastly, in turn 68 (sentence 68a) she says, "His mother does not advise him...; they will say." She continues in sentence 68b, "Then you cause (us) embarrassment." The aunt is very conscious of what the people say because anyone who does anything against the cultural norm of the community brings shame to one's family. Thus, conformity to the cultural norm of the community is very important. In essence, what the aunt is saying to the boy is, "Don't be an embarrassment to us."

Another cultural norm expressed in text 1 is the importance of marrying and having children. To multiply is good, and the continuing existence of the community is very important. From the beginning of the conversation the aunt brings up this norm. In text 1, turn 3 (sentence 3b) she says, "Is there anyone among the ladies who likes us if we are always drunk?" The theme of marriage is followed throughout the conversation as shown in the following excerpts: turn 7 (sentence 7b) 'when you get married'; turn 11 (sentence 11b) 'for your wedding celebration'; turn 15 (sentence 15a) 'church wedding' and (sentence 15b) 'one pig from your wife's side'; turn 17 (sentence 17) 'whenever they get married'; turn 19 (sentence 19c) 'is there anyone (among the ladies)' and (sentence 19d) 'you get married...your wife'; turn 28 (sentence 28) 'we get married'; turn 34 (sentence 34a) 'you get married...after you marry'; turn 42 (sentence 42) 'when we (Bontocs) get married...a wife'; turn 44 (sentence 44) 'you get married'; turn 50 (sentence 50a) 'you do get married' and (sentence 50b) 'your wife'; turn 63 (sentence 63b) 'marry you'; and turn 66 (sentence 66a) 'you get married'.

The young man in text 1 is the appropriate age for marriage. It would be shameful to the aunt if he does not marry, since in the village only drunkards and gamblers remain single men. Because they have no children they are forgotten in the future, since no one remembers the names of dead relatives who never had any children.

A related cultural norm is that a married couple should have a wedding celebration. In the Eastern Bontoc area, marriage takes place when a boy and a girl agree to marry each other and begin living together. They do three other things after that; namely, obtain a marriage contract in the municipal hall, have a church wedding and have a native wedding celebration. These three can occur in one day, but in many cases there is a long time lapse between them. One can have a native wedding celebration after having as many as three children. With this event, the marriage is celebrated by the community and the married couple is remembered in the future, due to the impact the celebration has had on the whole community. Many couples feel ashamed if they do not have carabao, cows and/or pigs to butcher for this celebration. The main point of the native wedding celebration is to have people gathering and eating together. One of the main reasons that there is a period of time between when the couple agrees to marry and the native wedding celebration, is that they need to save money to buy animals for the celebration. Saving money can start even before the couple agrees to marry, but it definitely continues long after the agreement. Thus it is important for a man to work hard in order to save for his wedding celebration.

The least important cultural norm is to refrain from gambling and drinking. In many cases drinking and gambling go on all night, so the man indulging in these activities cannot work hard and save money.

In text 1 the more important cultural norms, such as conformity to the cultural norm of the community, marrying and having a native wedding celebration are presupposed. The exhortation points given by the aunt relate more to the outer norm, such as refraining from gambling and drinking, saving money and working hard.

In text 2 cultural norms are ranked: (1) being a good steward of one's money and (2) sending one's children to school (which requires money). The communicator states that it is more important to send children to school than to keep money. The advice is meant to appeal to the known and accepted cultural norm of the community in clarifying a perceived indecision.

1.2 Human relationship

Who is talking to whom is quite important in behavioral discourse, since the relationship between the speaker and the hearer decides whether the hearer should or should not listen to the advice of the advisor. He can ask himself:

- (1) Which one is more powerful?
- (2) Which one has a higher social rank?
- (3) Which one is older?
- (4) Which one has a debt to the other?
- (5) Which one is higher in blood relationship?

These questions are constantly in the mind of the speaker and hearer, and his assessment of the relationship influences his speech act. In text 1 the young man is surrounded by his aunt, grandfather, older brother and sister. They all have a higher standing than he does in terms of kin relationship, so this means that he must listen to whatever they say to him. For example, in turn 21 (sentence 21a) the grandfather refers to himself as "I, your grandfather" and in turn 23 (sentence 23) to the young man as "my grandson". In turn 26 (sentence 26c), the aunt refers to the young man as "children". In turn 48 (sentence 48c) she calls herself, "your parents". In turn 55 (sentence 55a) the older brother calls him "Fertig". A younger sibling never addresses his older brother in this way. In turn 58 (sentence 58) the aunt refers to the older brother as "this sibling of yours". Lastly, in turn 70 (sentence 70a) she again refers to the young man as "children". Since they all agree in what they say, pressure is put on him. In text 2 (sentence 2) the speaker is addressing her peers. In this way she avoids straight exhortations like those in text 1, but uses a group of supposed advisees instead.

1.3 Coaxing

In Eastern Bontoc the word *fialiyen* 'coaxing', which in this article means an effort to persuade using an argument, even if it may not be true. For example, in an effort to stop a crying child, a mother will promise to give candies (but she doesn't actually give them), or she may say that a policeman is coming (when he really isn't). This may not be for the Eastern Bontocs only. Mercado (1979:32) says about Filipino parents in general that parents promise a lot, but when promises are broken the child learns not to be disappointed. What is important is not whether it is a fact, but rather that it is a means of bringing persuasive force. In text 1, turn 30 (sentence 30) the aunt says, "When there is (a wake for) a dead person, then your boy companions and your girl companions indeed tell me about it", which may not be true. That is why the boy answers back in turn 31 (sentence 31), "Who are they?" The aunt doesn't answer the question of the boy, but accuses him for talking back. He then accuses the aunt of being a liar. In turn 34 (sentence 34a) the aunt says, "You cannot deny (that you are doing these things)", but she then goes on to talk about the marriage. Neither of them are trying to prove something; that is not their concern. She says in turn 5 (sentence 5b), "Whenever there is (a wake for) a dead person, you always go and join in the gambling." This again may not be true, but it serves as an exhortation, even if he isn't always there. Still, he is guilty of gambling, and this is what the aunt wants him to stop doing.

1.4 Indirectness

It is somewhat surprising that a young man like the one in text 1 actually does behave in due course of time, even though the exhortation seems weak. There are many young men who gamble and drink, but all of them do not remain that way for a long time. Sometimes the main purpose of a behavioral discourse is to remind or give hortation points/advice to the advisee. In the future, there may be a time when he will really think about the exhortation and decide to follow the advice given. In the last part of text 1 (especially after turn 61), the word *kikiad* 'responsibility/up to you' occurs frequently. In turn 61 (sentence 61d) the aunt says, "...you are the one who is responsible." She continues in turn 63 (sentence 63a) with the same word, which is translated 'you are responsible'. In turn 67 (sentence 67) the young man responds,

"It is up to us." Finally, in turn 70 (sentence 70a) the aunt says, "Now it is up to you." In turn 71 (sentence 71) the boy replies, "We are the ones who are responsible." It is clear that the aunt isn't trying to force the young man to agree, or to force him to promise that he won't gamble anymore. The aunt is satisfied when the boy says, "We are the ones who are responsible." It is shameful if the aunt really corners him, and proves that he really is a useless person. She avoids that situation, but rather is content to remind him what she really wants him to be like.

2. Mitigatory efforts in persuasion

2.1 The need to mitigate (make mild) commands in behavioral discourse

There are three factors which necessitate the use of mitigation in behavioral discourse in Eastern Bontoc.

The first factor is that Eastern Bontocs generally tend to avoid conflict/confrontation situations. Each village in the Eastern Bontoc area is surrounded by high mountains, and the distance between villages is very far. More than 90 percent of the people marry within their own village, so each village is a tightly knit society. Everyone knows who each person is related to, what each person owns, what events happened to each person, etc. If people have a problem in their relationship, they know that they will see each other from time to time, even after the settlement of the case. They also know that, if at all possible, it is wise to avoid any conflict or confrontation. The surface peace or harmony is quite important, even though there are hidden negative feelings. It is important for one not to show anger to others.

The second factor that necessitates mitigation is shame. Conformity to the expected cultural norm is the basic demand of shame. It is shameful if one is doing something different from the expected norm, because the people in the society are closely related to each other. Another reason is that it's a farming community, and in rice farming many activities need to be done together. So, it is a high value to maintain harmonious working relationships within this community. When a person feels ashamed, he doesn't want to see his fellow villagers or relatives. Since it is impossible to avoid others in such a tightly knit and crowded village, the best thing to do is to avoid bringing shame to oneself or to one's family/relatives.

The third factor that necessitates mitigation is shared knowledge. This is because of the previous two factors. Many things are unsaid, because the society already shares this common information. So, when you advise, it is better if your exhortation is implied, and is not a direct confrontation. The advisee will quickly get the point of the exhortation.

These three factors are the background for the use of mitigation in behavioral discourse in Eastern Bontoc. When exhortations are directly addressed to the advisee, it means that the adviser is angry and intends to break off their relationship. It also means that he doesn't intend to see the advisee again in his lifetime. So, in normal situations outside of one's own family, it is advisable to avoid unmitigated exhortation. When the nonlinguistic persuasive devices are fully utilized and the utterance is mitigated, the persuasive force is likely to be strong.

2.2 Mitigation in behavioral discourse

Mitigation is a linguistic device which enables an adviser to maintain a good relationship with his advisee, yet it accomplishes the desired persuasive result. This is done by replacing/changing parts of a constituent at different linguistic levels. The presence of cultural constraints demands the use of mitigation devices. In a given situation, if an unmitigated discourse will result in a broken relationship, one needs to resort to the mitigation.

2.2.1 Mitigation devices used on four grammatical levels

Mitigation occurs on the discourse level, the episode/paragraph level, the sentence/clause level and the word level. In this section, I will discuss the strength of the mitigation force on each level.

2.2.1.1 Discourse level

Mitigation on the discourse level involves skewing of the intent and the discourse type by the speaker. The discourse type can be behavioral, narrative, expository or procedural. Manabe (1984:7-8) talks about

'authorial intent' and 'hierarchical structure of authorial intent'. His point is that even a narrative discourse can carry authorial intent in various ways. A story can be told that also includes a moral lesson. This is a common practice among the Eastern Bontocs. People tell stories to others in order to make the hearer do what they want to be done. In the first part of text 2, the story clearly carries an authorial intent. This is specifically used to stress the need for continuing education. The communicator regards the child as the point of reference by referring to the father in turn 3 as "his father", but the child is never referred to as "his child". Twice the communicator uses an indirect quote or indirect speech for the words of the child. In sentence 2 the communicator says, "Their child, he wanted to continue going to school." And in sentence 10 the communicator says, "...he said again that he would continue two more years." All the other speech act is a direct quote. That a child needs to go to school is the advice of the communicator to his audience, and the message reflected in the indirect speech is that they should send their children to school.

2.2.1.2 Episode or paragraph level

Mitigation on the episode or paragraph level is what Barlaan (during personal communication with him) terms global mitigation. Reordering takes place by reversing the order of the global or main constituents of a behavioral discourse. The basic notional structure of a behavioral discourse is: (1) projected circumstance, (2) command element and (3) support by argument (Fukuda 1983:151). In a mitigated discourse (see text 2), support by argument comes first, and then the command element follows (see sentence 22). Support by argument (see sentences 1-19) is an embedded narrative discourse, which is followed by a metaphor (see sentences 20-21). This metaphor is realized as a grammatical paragraph, and it is also part of the global mitigation. Instead of speaking directly, the speaker can use metaphors which indirectly convey his real meaning.

2.2.1.3 Sentence or clause level

There are many mitigation devices on the sentence or clause level, such as, the rhetorical question. In text 1 there are many instances of rhetorical questions, which communicate the strong affirmative point of the communicator. A rhetorical question can be expressed in three ways:

- (1) Use of the rhetorical question marker in text 1, turn 3:

3b. *Ay way monlayad kan chitas fiafiarasang mo kon*
 Q EXT like OM us,OM ladies if only
fofotang chi kon?
 drunk NM only

3b. Is there anyone among
 the ladies who likes us if
 we are always drunk?

The intent of the communicator is to say, "there aren't any ladies who like you if you are always drunk".

- (2) The notionally rhetorical question uses a question marker, but no rhetorical question marker is used in text 1, turn 11:

11c. *Ay wachay chak monlagfowan?*
 Q EXT,LK PROG,I place.of.work

11c. Do I have a job now?

The intent of the communicator is to say, "Of course, you know that I don't have a job now", or, "I can't earn any money for you."

- (3) The notionally rhetorical question doesn't use the question word *ay*, but the rising intonation at the end of the sentence phonologically marks it as a question in text 1, turn 8:

8. *Kon lawa ichat?*
 only just give

8. Do I just give it?

The intent of the communicator is to say, "Of course, I won't give it."

A second device for expressing mitigation on the sentence or clause level, is to express a notional exhortation with an exclamation sentence in text 1, turn 1:

1b. *Anan norpowam os!*
EM come.you now

1b. Now, where have you been!

The communicator knows that the boy has been drinking, and probably gambling. This is equivalent to saying, "You shouldn't come home drunk this late."

The third device for expressing mitigation on the sentence or clause level is to express a notional exhortation by a statement sentence in text 1, turn 26:

26c. *Hiyasa nan nomnomon ay ongong-a.*
that NM think LK children

26c. That is what you should think, children.

In text 1 there are very few command sentences compared to rhetorical questions. And those command sentences are not the communicators main hortation point, but like the command in text 1, turn 34 (sentence 34b), "Listen!"

One other use of the statement sentence is presumed realization (Doty 1986:51). In text 1, turn 70 (sentences 70a-70b) the aunt says, "Now it is up to you children, if you insist on what you say. You must control your own thoughts." She talks as if the boy has already come to his senses, or that he has already agreed to do what she has been asking him.

2.2.1.4 Word level pronouns and particles are the two major mitigation devices on word level.

- (1) The basic mitigatory device on the word level, is for the pronouns to shift from second person orientation (either singular or plural) to first person orientation. It can also shift from second person singular to second person plural. In text 2, sentence 22 the communicator addresses the advisees by using the first person plural inclusive pronoun *tako*. Up until then the communicator did not identify herself, since she was just telling the story. She identifies herself as a parent by including herself with the first person plural inclusive pronoun. She says, 'that is what I say to all of us,IN parents'. After this she uses the same pronoun five times. This is to mitigate the command by including herself.

Also in text 1, the aunt uses the second person plural pronoun, although she is clearly referring only to the boy. This is to mitigate the command by including the friends of the boy, who aren't there at the time of the conversation. In turn 7 (sentence 7c) she says, 'you,PL work now... if you,PL do not keep it then give it to me'.

- (2) The second mitigatory device on the word level, is the use of some special particles. The Eastern Bontoc word *anaka*, which has a lexically zero meaning, is used when one cannot think of the right word. This word can take all the verbal affixes. But in text 1, turns 11, 19, 30, and 70 the word functions as a mitigory device to soften the command by giving an extra phonological pause. Another particle is *mampay* 'emphasis' used in text 1, turn 7:

7c. ... *mo achi you itopog mampay, ichat yon haon!*
if not you keep EM give you,OM me

7c. ...or if you do not keep it then give it to me!

2.3 Mitigation force

Mitigation devices used on different grammatical levels are described in section 2.2. I propose that the mitigation effect is strongest on the discourse level, and it becomes successively weaker as it moves down to the word level. Intuitively, I like to think that a narrative story makes the most impact on the advisee. The grandfather's embedded expository discourse is well accepted by the boy (see text 1, turn 21), even though it has a hortation intent. The boy doesn't question the necessity of the wedding celebration, which the grandfather is trying to explain. Rather, the boy is questioning the very minor point of boxing on such an occasion.

When we compare the statement and the rhetorical question as mitigation devices on the sentence or clause level, it seems that the statement has more force. For example, in text 1 the statement receives a positive response from the boy. As for the rhetorical questions, the boy doesn't negate the norm but responds in an indirect way.

In conclusion, mitigation isn't utilized on only one level. Text 1 has an embedded expository discourse, presumed realization, rhetorical questions and pronoun shifts. Text 2 has global reordering of the constituents structures, pronoun shifts and metaphor. Mitigation devices used on four grammatical levels add to the strength of the mitigation force employed by the speaker to persuade the second person in a communication situation to change his behavior.

Appendix: Text 1

1a. *Anan sorfiatam!*

EM foolish.you

1b. *Anan norpowam os!*

EM come.you now

2. *Ya kakon man assa fiabroy!*

and well EM there poblacion

3a. *Kon fofotang chi kon mo.*

only drunk NM only you

3b. *Ay way monlayad kan chias fiafiarasang mo kon*

Q EXT like OM us,OM ladies if only

fofotang chi kon?

drunk NM only

4. *Ya kon manowat at wacha challo!*

and only even.so IM EXT EM

5a. *Oray wacha!*

even EXT

5b. *Wacha os nan matoy, kiay oyka os nakisokiar.*

EXT now NM dead then go.you again gamble

5c. *Anan oymo omor-a-or-an hi cha isokiasokiar?*

EM you get OM PROG money.to.gamble

6. *Ya kakon tinob-okian.*

and well earn

7a. *Angkiay kon nan tinob-okian ya kon sokiar chi*

then only NM earn and only gamble NM

mangeayam ya inomom?

spend.you and drink.you

1a. How foolish you are!

1b. Now, where have you been!

2. Well, there at the poblacion!

3a. You always get drunk.

3b. Is there anyone among the ladies who likes us if we are always drunk?

4. Sure there will be one!

5a. There is even (someone who would want you)!

5b. Whenever there is (a wake for) a dead person, you always go and join in the gambling.

5c. How do you get the money you use for gambling?

6. Well, it is the money I earned.

7a. It is the money you earned, and are you spending it only for gambling and drinking?

7b. *Kiay konpay mo omasawa ka ya tay ammok*
 then when if marry you and because know.I

met ay wachay cham oy annon, yangkiay anan mo
 EM LK EXT,LK PROG,you go court then EM if

omasawa ka, kiay nan etarakon mo?

marry you then NM take.care.of you

7c. *Ya tay adwani pay nan ... adwani ay onlagfo*
 and because now EM NM now LK work

kayo, hiyachin cha mangitopokian hi aket hi
 you that,NM PROG keep OM little OM

elagfowan onno mo achi yo itopog mampay ichat yon
 earn or if not you keep EM give you,OM

haon!

me

8. *Kon "hwa ichat?*

only just give

9. *Ya tay itopog ko.*

and because keep I

10. *Iyen-enom-at ta awni ta anaka mangasawa, haak-at*
 drink so later so well marry then.I

cha itopog.

PROG keep

11a. *Ay awni?*

Q later

11b. *Angkiay anan anaka, elakom hi ichoyas*

then EM well buy OM things.for.wedding

mo?

your

11c. *Ay wachay chak monlagfowan?*

Q EXT,LK PROG,I place.of.work

11d. *Ay wachay cha monlagfowan ama yo?*

Q EXT,LK PROG place.of.work father your

12a. *Kias-an wachay ichoychoyas?*

necessary EXT,LK things.for.wedding

12b. *Kakon ommat-at chi osay manok ay ichoyas*

well enough NM one,LK chicken LK for.wedding

at osto chi.

IM good that

7b. Then when you get married, because I know that there is a lady you are courting, so when you get married then how do you take care of her?

7c. Yes, because...you are working now, you should save a little, or if you do not keep it, then give it to me!

8. Do I just give it?

9. Yes, so that I can keep it.

10. I just spend it for drinking, but when I get married in the future, that is the time I will keep it.

11a. In the future (you will save your money)?

11b. Then how do you buy what is needed for your wedding celebration?

11c. Do I have a job now?

11d. Does your father have a job now?

12a. Is it necessary to have something for the wedding celebration?

12b. It is acceptable to have only one chicken for the wedding celebration.

13a. *O, tay maid fia-in mos ib-am.*
yes because none shame your,OM relatives

13b. *Totoknom hinkaongam.*
foolish.you since.child

14a. *Ah-a.*
well

14b. *Kakon challo kon sorsoroton nan menaliyam ta!*
well EM only learn NM traditional.way EM

14c. *Oytan kiasto ... kakon*
we spend well

15a. *Kaskasin nan kastos henan adwani tay wacha*
more NM expense OM now because EXT
nan kaskasar ay oycha kankanan.
NM church.wedding LK their words

15b. *Ongor chi at ya tay mo ahnan pinos-oy kon*
much NM IM and because if OM old.way only
way osay fiafoy mo ay laraki ya wachay osay fiafoy
EXT one,LK pig if LK man and EXT,LK one,LK pig
chi asawam, hiyachi.
NM wife.your that

15c. *Senmorpon cha nan ib-am ya as*
bring.rice.bundles they NM relatives.your and OM
katorong as kaman ib-am, at achi cha met
help OM like relatives.you IM not they EM
epaafos chi!
demand.return that

15d. *Afosomto chi as kasin.*
give that OM future

16. *Iso ompay!*
right EM

17. *As omasaw-an cha os.*
OM marry they now

18a. *Mangisiw nan wachay ab-afoson.*
evil NM EXT,LK give.back

13a. Yes, because you do not want to embarrass your relatives.

13b. You have been foolish from your childhood.

14a. Well.

14b. It is better to follow the traditional way!

14c. We will spend...hopefully....

15a. The expense now (for the wedding celebration) is much more because that is what they say the cost is for a church wedding.

15b. It is very expensive because in the traditional way there is one pig from the man's side and one pig from the wife's side, that is the way.

15c. Your relatives bring rice bundles as their contribution, and they will not demand that you give (pig meat) in return!

15d. That is what you will give them later.

16. That is right!

17. Whenever they get married (they will give it).

18a. It is bad to have a custom of giving something in return (at the wedding celebration).

18b. *Ta kon wacha kay chi monkasar, kiay iyoy chi*
 so only EXT EM NM marry then bring NM
sorpon?
 rice.bundles

18c. *Anan oyaka!*
 EM too.much

18d. *Pipiya pay chi osay manok ta kon ang-angkiay*
 better EM NM one,LK chicken so only only
kayo.
 you

19a. *Totoknom.*
 foolish.you

19b. *Anan nangor-am hi nomnom mos assesa?*
 EM get.you OM think your,OM like.that

19c. *Ay way monlayad kan hea mo hiyasa?*
 O EXT like OM you if that

19d. *Ay awni ta omasawa ka ya anaka katokiangam*
 Q later so marry you and well parents.in.law
chi manochon hea ya asawam?
 NM advise you and wife.your

19e. *Anoy kafiafiain na, kiay kenali cha on, maid cha*
 how shameful this then said they QM none PROG
itocho kan chakayo ay ongong-a.
 advise OM you LK children

20. *Ya wacha met!*
 and EXT EM

21a. *Wacha nan ifiakiak ay ap-o yo.*
 EXT NM tell.I LK grandfather your

21b. *Kanak on, libbing ay mo omasawa ta, wacha challoy*
 say.I QM right LK if marry we EXT truly
choyas.
 celebrate

18b. Because whenever there is a wedding, then rice bundles are brought (by the relatives)?

18c. That is too much!

18d. It is better to have one chicken since you are the only ones (providing it).

19a. You are foolish.

19b. Where did you get that idea?

19c. Is there anyone (among the ladies) who would like you if you are like that?

19d. Is it only after you get married that your parents-in-law are the ones to advise you and your wife?

19e. How shameful this is, if they said no one was advising you children.

20. Yes, there are those (who advise)!

21a. I, your grandfather, have something to say.

21b. I say that if we (Bontocs) get married, it is right to have a celebration.

21c. *Choyas ay kanan nan naoy ad pos-oy challo ta*
 celebrate LK say NM this OM before truly so
mangayakian hinan masagsagkiang ay ap-o ya
 call OM close.relatives LK grandfather and
chachakchakor. Ta way mangaliyan cha on, "Naoy
 parents so EXT say they QM here
chakami am-in sa."
 we all that

21d. *Wacha nan ab-abkor, kenali cha -on, "Aw ya*
 EXT NM trouble say they QM no and
tay sakiang mi sa yat ta iyapa mi," winno, "Achi
 because relative our that and so protect we or not
yo sodpakon, tay chakami sa ay anaka hinfiaroy."
 you box because we that LK well one.family

21e. *Hiyasa nan pagkiawesan nan choyas ay inlokin nan*
 that NM better GM celebrate LK begin NM
kaap-owan ad pos-oy.
 ancestors OM before

22. *Ya oray pay mo mafotangak at monsodpak ko nan*
 and even EM if get.drunk.I IM box I NM
oomngos.
 aggressive

23. *Ya mo oyka somodsodpak ya tay mangisiw*
 and if you box and because evil
say apok.
 that,LK grandson.my

24. *Mo ngay os oomngos cha ngay?*
 if so again aggressive they so

25. *Aw, ammay mo kon ta naomos tay hiyana nan*
 no good if only we patient because this NM
ammay ay tako ta!
 good LK we EM

26a. *Angkiay ay, ammay chamman mo sodpakom ya as*
 well LK good EM if box.you and OM
weet ya naap-apat winno as sang-achom ya
 next.day and reconcile or OM third.day and
naap-apat ya chita challo ay hinfiaroy?
 reconcile and we EM LK one.family

21c. People in the past called it a *choyas* (wedding celebration) when close relatives, who are grandparents and parents, got together. Then they said, "We are all here."

21d. If there is trouble, they will say, "Don't (do that), because that (person) is our relative and we protect him/her," or, "Don't box him/her, because that (person) and we are one family."

21e. That is the good side of wedding celebrations initiated by ancestors in the past.

22. Even so, if I get drunk, I box those who are aggressive.

23. Because if you go and box (someone), that is bad, my grandson.

24. How about if they are very aggressive?

25. No, it is good that we are patient, because this is how we can be good people!

26a. Well, is it good that if you box someone, then you reconcile the next day or the third day, because we are one family?

26b. *Ay achi kafiafiain kenali cha on, "Kon ta*
Q not shameful say they QM only we
montenanong?"
same.clan

26c. *Hiyasa nan nomnomon ay ongong-a.*
that NM think LK children

26d. *Naoy cha nan enaochem, ta mo laychon*
here they NM younger.sibling.your so if like
chay on-oswila, chicha at pay chi fiadfiadngam.
they,LK school them IM EM NM help.you

27. *Ya nangamong cha kayong os!*
and responsible they EM also

28. *Hiya ngon sa tit-iwa nan achi yo chomngoran, ham*
it EM that truly NM not you listen you
pay. Achim enpapas ay mon-oswila, tay haana-at
EM not.you pass LK school because then
enom mo ya nan sokiar mo nan cham
drink you and NM gamble you NM PROG.you
nomnomnomon. Tay kaman mo omasawa ta at
think because like if marry we IM
mangisiw.
evil

29a. *Nange! am pay nok nonsogsokiaran?*
see.you EM my gamble

29b. *Maid met!*
none EM

30. *Wacha nan matoy, angkiay ya anaka ifiakian challo*
EXT NM dead then and well tell truly
nan ib-am ay fiarfiaro ya nan ib-am
NM companion.your LK boys and NM companion.your
ay fiarfiarasang.
LK ladies

31. *Ngachana pay?*
who EM

32. *Ay kias-in sansanam ta kanam on, "... toymo*
Q again clarify.you so say.you QM you
sokonon?"
answer.back

26b. Isn't it shameful if
 (when you box someone)
 others say, "We belong to
 the same clan?"

26c. That is what you
 should think, children.

26d. Here are your
 younger siblings, so if you
 want them to go to
 school, they are the ones
 you should help.

27. And they are also
 responsible (to attend
 school)!

28. That truly shows that
 you do not listen to ad-
 vice. That is why you did
 not finish school, because
 this drinking and gam-
 bling is what you have
 been doing. Because if we
 get married now (while
 you are doing all these
 things) it is bad.

29a. Where did you see
 me gambling?

29b. Nowhere!

30. When there is (a wake
 for) a dead person, then
 your boy companions and
 your girl companions in-
 deed tell me about it.

31. Who are they?

32. You wrongly clarify so
 that you will say, "...why
 do you answer back?"

33. *Ya hiyasa os nan mangaliyak on, "Kotom mo os."*
and that also NM say.I QM tell.a.lie you also

34a. *Aw ... ohhhhhh ... achim man mafialin man he oy*
no well not.you EM can EM OM go

esassaot, tay mangisiw mo anaka omasawa ta,
deny because evil if well marry we
yangkiay ya hiyasay cha at-at-aton, mo omasawa ta.
then and that,LK PROG do if marry we

34b. *Chongrom.*
listen.you

35. *Kon met hiyahiyasa gamin nan chayo kanakanan*
only EM same EM NM PROG,you say
on, wacha kay chi matmatoy on, wachaak hid-i!
QM EXT EM NM dead QM EXT,I there

36. *Ya o met!*
and yes EM

37. *Ya maichak met!*
and none.I EM

38a. *Anan mangesaotam?*
well deny.you

38b. *Haka pay maawniawni komatam!*
you EM late come.home

39. *Achi met a, tay wacha challo nan agkiam*
no EM EM because EXT truly NM sleeping.house
mi.
our

40. *Chongrom kay tay kon wacha challo nan cha*
listen.you EM because only EXT truly NM PROG

kanan, kiay chaka somongfiat ya!
say then you answer.back EM

41. *Ay chod man?*
Q where EM

42. *Ta mo omasawa ta, amino ay manarakon hi anak,*
so if marry we know LK feed OM child
amino ay manarakon hi asawa.
know LK feed OM wife

43. *Maanowat tay ammok ay manarakon.*
of.course because know.I LK feed

33. And that is why I also say, "You are telling a lie."

34a. No,...well..you cannot deny (that you are doing these things), because it is bad if you get married, and then you still behave the same way after you marry.

34b. Listen.

35. You keep on saying that whenever there is (a wake for) a dead person, that I will be there!

36. Yes, that is right!

37. No, I am not always there!

38a. How can you deny it?

38b. You always come home late!

39. No (I am not always late) because we have a sleeping house (and sometimes I go there overnight).

40. You better listen and stop arguing!

41. Where (am I arguing)?

42. So that when we (Bontocs) get married, we need to know how to take care of children and how to take care of a wife.

43. Of course, I already know how.

44. *Ay hokod ta chamman omasawa, haat ta*
Q only so EM marry then we
monnomnom?
think

45. *Ya hiya met chil?*
and that EM that

46. *Ammay pay mo elarapod wani!*
good EM if begin, OM now

47. *Monnomnomon nan anak ay matarakon.*
cause.to.think NM child LK feed

48a. *Ya tay toan.*
and because no

48b. *Chana nangkila chas cha oy nonomnomon*
PROG,he see they,OM PROG go think
mo hiyahiyasa.
if same

48c. *Ay chitanto pay ay chachakchakor mot cha achim*
Q we EM LK parents your PROG not.you
aaforoton mo ya magkorang
obey if and more

49. *Angkiay sa ya ...?*
only that and

50a. *Mab-araya mo omasawa ka.*
useless if marry you

50b. *Achim kay at kikiad hi asawak ay cha oy*
not.you EM IM depend OM wife.my LK PROG LK
mangom-om; ya ta oy omoy ngon oyta manobsobfiat.
go.to.field and so go go EM we get.sticks

51. *Ya kikiad hiya, tay hiya nan nangimora ay!*
and depend her because that NM plant EM

52. *Anan ischum?*
well viand.your

53. *Ya ta ischa mi ah nan tod-i menor-ana.*
and so viand our OM OM that plants.she

54. *Ahhh, ... mangisiw sa mampay!*
O evil that EM

44. Is it only when you get married that you think (about this)?

45. Yes, that is right!

46. It is better if you begin (thinking) now!

47. It is the children that cause us to think about taking care of them.

48a. I don't think so.

48b. If you keep on thinking (or doing things) like that, I doubt if you will ever come to your senses.

48c. Even to us your parents, you do not listen and what's more....

49. Is that all...?

50a. It is useless (to talk to you), even if you do get married.

50b. Do not let your wife go to the field alone; if she goes, you have to go along and get sticks.

51. Well, it is up to her, because she is the one who plants!

52. Then how about your viand?

53. Well, we will eat the ones she plants.

54. O,...that is bad!

55a. *Kayman Fertig!*

EM Fertig

55b. *Chongrom sa.*

listen.you that

56. *Ahh*

well

57. *Magsomikap ka.*

industrious you

58. *Ay chongron nan ifla yo ay anna, "Ta kon kayo*

Q listen NM sibling your LK this so only you

am-in"

all

59. *Kayman chakayoy fottang!*

EM you,LK drunkard

60. *Achiyak met fottang!*

not.I EM drunkard

61a. *Ay oy achi?*

Q go not

61b. *Kon ka komatam on hiyasa?*

only you come.home EM that

61c. *Anan sorsorfiatam!*

well foolish

61d. *Angkiay ka kikiad mo achi ka monnomnomnom,*

then you depend you not you think

angkiay anan oyakay cha kanakanan kan hea.

then well too.much PROG tell OM you"} }

61e. *Maid paat aforotom hi kanan!*

none EM obey.you OM word

62. *Aforotok met am-in nan chayo kankanan!*

obey.I EM all NM PROG.you say

63a. *Ay achin; kiay kon ka kikiad as cham*

Q not.you then only you depend OM PROG.you

at-aton.

do

63b. *Ay way cha mangetangaw kan heay mangasawa?*

Q EXT PROG like OM you,LK marry

64a. *Aw wacha mo epapatek ngay challoy omarom!*

no EXT if try.I EM truly,LK court

55a. That's right, *Fertig!*

55b. Listen to that.

56. Well,....

57. Be industrious.

58. Did you hear what this sibling of yours said, "You are all ..."

59. Yes, you are all drunkards!

60. I am not a drunkard!

61a. You say you are not?

61b. Even if you come home at this time?

61c. How foolish you are!

61d. You seem to forget that you are the one who is responsible (for your own actions), and I'm tired of continually reminding you.

61e. You do not obey my word!

62. I obey all that you are telling me!

63a. No, you don't; so you are responsible for what you are doing.

63b. Is there anyone who would want to marry you?

64a. Yes, there will be one, if I try hard to court (her)!

64b. *At wacha challo.*
IM EXT truly

65. *Oray nakodkod!*
even skin.disease

66a. *Oray wacha mampay mo angkiuy ya omasawa ta*
even EXT IM if then and marry so
ya cham challo ipoo-poo nan cham at-at-aton,
and PROG,you truly continue NM PROG,you do
ya anan kanan cha?
and well say they

66b. *Ya anan ...?*
and well

67. *Kikiad kami ay anaka ...*
depend we 1.K well

68a. *"Maid tochon ena na, maid tochon ama na,*
none advise mother his none advise father his
maid tochon apo na," kanan cha.
none advise grandparents his say they

68b. *Kiay omepafiafiain kayowat.*
then cause.embarrass you

68c. *Enha kon cha todtotodotan chakayo.*
see only PROG continue.to.advise,OM you

68d. *Mangan ta, cha todtotan chakayo.*
eat we PROG advise,OM you

68e. *Komatam kayo, cha todtotodotan chakayo.*
come.home you PROG advise,OM you

68f. *Ya kon kayo challo achi omaforot?*
and only you truly not obey

69a. *Hah!*
yes

69b. *Omaforot kami.*
obey we

70a. *Kon kayo kikiad ay ongong-a mo enha wachay*
only you depend 1.K children if well EXT.1.K

kanan en-aanaka yo nan kanan yo.
say do you NM say you

70b. *Wachas nomnom yo nan anaka etotoray yo.*
EXT think you NM well control you

64b. Surely there will be one (willing to marry me).

65. Yes, one with skin disease!

66a. Even if there will be one (who wants you), when you get married and you keep on doing what you are doing, then what will they say?

66b. And how much...?

67. It is up to us....

68a. "His mother does not advise him, his father does not advise him and his grandparents do not advise him," they will say.

68b. Then you cause (us) embarrassment.

68c. They keep on advising you.

68d. When we eat, they advise you.

68e. When you go home, they advise you.

68f. And you are not obeying?

69a. Yes!

69b. We obey.

70a. Now it is up to you children if you insist on what you say.

70b. You must control your own thoughts.

71. *Ya oray pay kikiad kami.*
and even EM depend we

71. We are the ones who
are responsible.

Appendix: Text 2

1. *Wacha nan hen-asawa ya nan osa-y anak cha.*
EXT NM couple and NM one,LK child their

2. *Nan naoy anak cha anna, laychona paat ay mangitoroy*
NM this child their this like.he EM LK continue
as oswila na.
OM school his

3. *Ngem cha ama na kan ena na, at kanan cha on,*
but PL father his and mother his IM say they QM
"Achi kias-in, tay anoy mangor-an as ongor ay
no never because EM get OM much LK
siping, tenha maprak chi oswilad wani?"
money because expensive NM school,OM now

4. *Onsogsog-ang na ay anak kiapos ammo na ay*
beg he LK child because know he LK
kafiaelan met cha ama na.
can EM PL father his

5. *Ya kon at oy fomongat hi ama na ay mangali on,*
and only IM get angry OM father his LK say QM
"Kok kanan on, maid siping, ya anom man paat epelet
I say QM none money and ?? EM EM force
nan kanam? Mo chakos ko kenali on, maid at maid. Ay
NM word,your if already I say QM none IM none Q
chinngor mo sa?"
hear you that

6. *Yangkiay kayman ya makok-ongiwan nan anak, ya*
then EM and lose.hope - NM child and
achi na itoroy nan oswila na asnan hiyachi ay tawwon,
not he continue NM school his OM that LK year
tenha met nan kanan ama na.
because EM NM word father his

1. There was a couple and
their child.

2. Their child, he wanted
to continue going to
school.

3. But his father and his
mother said, "No way, be-
cause how can we get that
much money, since school
is very expensive now?"

4. The child begged and
begged, because he knew
that his father could af-
ford it.

5. But his father got angry
and said, "Didn't I tell
you that I don't have any
money, so why do you per-
sist in asking? I already
said there is none, then
there is none. Do you hear
that?"

6. Then the child lost
hope and did not continue
going to school that year,
since that is what his
father said.

7. *Konpay tenmawwon ya kasin kanan nan anak on,*
after one.year and again say NM child QM

"Fiachanganak man paat ta itoroy koy oswilak."
help.me EM EM so continue I,LK school.my

8. *Ya iyafod kayman nan ama, ya kanana on, "O a,*
and agree EM NM father and say.he QM yes EM

ngem kon od-ay nan choway tawwon nan oswela-om ta
but only agree NM two,LK year NM school.your so
henkemad."
short.while

9. *Yangkiay iyafod nan anak.*
then agree NM child

10. *Kona pay lenpas nan choway tawwon, kanana kasin*
when EM finish NM two,LK year say.he again
on, kasina itoroy as chowa kasin ay tawwon.
QM again.he continue OM two again LK year

11. *Yangkiay achi laychon cha ama na, tay inila*
then not like PL father his because see
cha nan siping ay kinastos na at chamona, tay nan
they NM money LK spend he IM much because NM
laychon cha at mon-anap as chono na.
like they IM seek OM work his

12. *Yangkiay kanan kayman nan anak na, "Mo hiyasa nan*
then say EM NM child he if that NM
kanan yo, at eitanak as kiastowok ay oy mon-anap
word your IM give.me OM money.my LK go seek
as chonok."
OM work.my

13. *Ya eitan ama na ya kona eneeknang.*
and give father his and only.he give.enough

14. *Ya kanan nan anak on, "Kakom man paat taptapiyan*
and say NM child QM hope EM EM add
tay aton ngay mo achiyak maka-anap ay dagos. Achi
because do EM if not.I can.find LK soon not
a ommat na."
EM enough this

7. After one year, the child again said, "Please help me, so I can continue going to school."

8. And the father agreed and said, "Yes, but your schooling should only be for two years so it will be for a short while."

9. Then the child agreed.

10. When he finished two years, he said again that he would continue two more years.

11. Then his father (and mother) did not like it, because they saw that he spent a lot of money, because what they wanted him to do was look for a job.

12. Then the child said again, "If that is what you say, give me money to spend so I can go and look for my job."

13. And his father gave (him some money), but he gave just enough.

14. And the child said, "Please add some more, because if I will not be able to find a job right away, this is not enough."

15. *Ya kanan nan ama na on, "Hiyasa yangkiay nan*
and say NM father his QM that only NM
mafialin koy ichat. Ommat sa, mo ammom nan atom.
can I,LK give enough that if know.you NM use.you
Kon ngon challo achi kompormis cha laklakwan, ta
only EM EM not anything,OM PROG buy so
kon yangkiay nan paat kasaporan chi aran. Tay
only EM NM EM need NM get because
hiyuchi ya hataat achi mam-enan hi kiastowon."
that and then not disappear OM money

16. *Ya kon tit-iwa angkiay chis inchat na ya chaan*
and only truly then that,OM gave he and did.not
tenapiyan.
add

17. *Kiay ya koon nonnomnom nan anak ya kanana*
then and probably think NM child and say.he
on, "Awni kayo."
OM wait you

18. *Yangkiay chaan nasolet ya mak-ak nan anak ta oy*
then not long and leave NM child so go
mon-anap as chono na, ya kona at inyinakiw ay
seek OM work his and only.he IM steal LK
nanqaras nan am-in ay siping cha.
get NM all LK money their

19. *Ya kon pay chi natapen chi orkiw ya wachay oy*
and only EM NM another GM day and EXT,LK go
lakwan cha ama na kiay hachaat oy elaon ya maid at
buy PL father his then they go see and none IM
am-in nan siping cha ya ongor at chi totoyo cha ya
all NM money their and much IM NM repent their and
kon taon chacha fomongat ngem maid mafialin cha,
only EM PROG,they angry but none can they
tay mo kon cha chaan ininotan nan inenchat cha
because if only they not stingy NM give they
at chaana enara ami-in.
IM not.he get all

15. And his father said,
 "That is all I can give
 you. That is enough, if
 you know how to use it.
 Do not just buy anything,
 only buy what is neces-
 sary. Because that way we
 will always have enough."

16. And that was truly all
 that he gave and he did
 not add to it.

17. Then the child thought
 and said, "Let me see."

18. Then before long the
 child left to look for his
 job, but he stole all their
 money.

19. And some days later
 his father had something
 to buy, but when they
 went to see (the money),
 their money was gone.
 They were very sorry and
 very angry, but they
 couldn't do anything about
 it, because if they had not
 been so stingy, he
 wouldn't have stolen all of
 it.

20. *Kaman asnan lakian mo komkomom ay kiamaron kon*
 like OM sand if hold.tight LK hold only
cha at oy mayakayak.
 they IM go fall.down

21. *Kon pay mo kon mo tatapayaon at aket nan*
 only when if only if hold.soft IM little NM
mag-as.
 fall.down

22. *At hiyasa nan kanak kan chitako ay chachakchakor*
 IM that NM say.I OM us LK parents
on, "Achi tako imotan as makasolet nan an-ak tako.
 QM not we selfish OM much NM children our
Mo ammo tako ay pagkiawesan cha. Tay enha mo oy
 if know we LK betterment their because see if go
tako imotan, at kaman takowat oy ichorchor chicha ay
 we selfish IM like we go force them LK
monnomnom hi mangisiw." Hatakowat cha oy
 think OM evil then.we PROG go
kankanan on, "Ayodchi sas cha oy at-aton chi
 say QM why that PROG go do NM
ongong-a?"
 children

20. Like sand, if you grasp it tightly, it will slip (out of your hand).

21. But if you hold it lightly, only a little bit will slip (out of your hand).

22. So that is what I say to all of us parents, "Let us not be selfish with our children, if we know that we have means to help them. Because if we are selfish, we are forcing them to think evil things." Then we ask, "Why are the children doing that?"

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